The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

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The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond

Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogue on Miracles *and Its Reception*

Edited by

Victoria Smirnova,
Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu and
Jacques Berlioz

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Cover illustration: A Cistercian monk (Caesarius of Heisterbach?) teaching a novice. *Dialogus miraculorum*, ms. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, C27, fol. 1 recto (first half of the fourteenth century). This manuscript is on loan from the city of Düsseldorf to the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf. Courtesy Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf.

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Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AN	Arnold of Liège's *Alphabetum narrationum*
BISM	Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier, Section Médecine
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BnL	Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
BU	Bibliothèque universitaire
CC	*Chronicon Clarevallense*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
DM	Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*
EHESS	École des hautes études en sciences sociales
GAHOM	Groupe d'anthropologie historique de l'Occident médiéval
HDM	Johannes Hartlieb's translation of the *Dialogus miraculorum*
IRHT	Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes
L. VIII	Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Libri octo miraculorum*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
MSE	*Magnum speculum exemplorum*
O.C.S.O.	Ordo Cisterciensis Strictioris Observantiae
O.S.B.	Ordo Sancti Benedicti
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*
SB	Stiftsbibliothek
SBB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz
StB	Stadtbibliothek

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Introduction

Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Victoria Smirnova and Jacques Berlioz

Theoretical Background

We would like to open this book[1] with an overview of the theoretical frameworks that shaped our research into Cistercian persuasion and Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (1219–1223) as an example of the Cistercian literature whose aim it was to educate and to convert. Rhetoric, persuasion and 'making believe' (*faire croire*) are the three key concepts that have been central to our thinking. As we explored our material, we tried to find different ways of answering one crucial question: Was a religious order able to produce a specific model for effective persuasion?

Since the *Rhetorical Turn* of the 1990s,[2] the field of application of rhetoric was considerably expanded to include not only the domains of political speeches and pleading in court but also advertising,[3] scientific and religious discourse. Following the same line of analysis as Bruno Ballardini in his controversial book *Jésus lave plus blanc* but using a more academic approach, Bruno Delorme, author of *Le Christ grec. De la tragédie aux Évangiles*,[4] argues that the success of Christianity owes a great deal to rhetoric. The Gospels were not written in Aramaic, the language of Christ, but in Greek. Techniques of Classical rhetoric that formed an integral part of the culture of the Mediterranean region are widely used to tell stories, especially in the Gospels according to Luke and Mark. The life of Jesus Christ follows the canons of Greek tragedy; it features a

1 Earlier versions of the articles in this collection were presented at the conference "La persuasion cistercienne (XIII^e–XVI^e siècle). Le *Dialogue des miracles* de Césaire de Heisterbach et sa réception" that took place on 25–26 June 2013 at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA) in Paris.

2 Herbert W. Simons, *The Rhetorical Turn: Invention and Persuasion in the Conduct of Inquiry* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1990). For more recent scholarship on the subject, see Bryan Garsten, *Saving Persuasion: A Defense of Rhetoric and Judgment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

3 Bruno Ballardini, *Jésus lave plus blanc*: *ou Comment l'Église catholique a inventé le marketing* (Montréal: Boréal, 2006). Ballardini demonstrates how the Church 'invented' marketing techniques such as the logo (the Crucifix) and promises and slogans (e.g. "The last will be the first"). All of the techniques of the *storytelling* were already used by the Church from the earliest centuries of its history.

4 Bruno Delorme, *Le Christ grec: de la tragédie aux Évangiles* (Paris, Bayard: 2009).

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solitary hero, son of a god and a mortal woman whose great mission is to save the world. He confronts the forces of evil and accomplishes miracles, but later he is betrayed, tortured and killed. There is, however, a final twist, a happy ending that runs contrary to the rules of tragedy: he rises from the dead. We should, therefore, take into consideration other genres that could have influenced the authors of the Gospels: Plato's dialogues, Aristotle's treatises and Hellenistic romances. The Gospels can thus be read as "tragico-romanesque compositions or tragic romances, but with this new and particular characteristic that distinguishes them from ancient tragedies, that is the happy denouement"[5] (resurrection). This tale is full of metaphors (Jesus designated as the Messiah, the Saviour) and it elicits all sorts of emotional reactions and resorts to suspense. These features captivate the audience's attention and make the story more memorable. Delorme's thesis does not take into account the Christian message and its novelty, the structure of the Church that is in the process of establishment or the political and social aspects of its expansion. However, this book reminds us of the importance of the rhetorical heritage and the power of persuasion that shaped the writing of the Gospels.

This heritage goes back to Ancient Greece where the citizens who spoke on the *agora* had to be trained as orators. In Rome, rhetoric was not only used in politics; lawyers also studied it to improve their performance in court. Plato, Aristotle and later Cicero and Quintillian established the three pillars of the art of rhetoric: *logos* (demonstration, argumentation), *pathos* (appealing to the audience's values, emotions and passions) and, finally, *ethos* (appealing to the authority of the speaker). For a long time, it was commonplace to presume that, in the Middle Ages, the field of application of rhetoric was confined to the literary domain in the narrowest sense. Recent studies (published, among others, by Jean-Yves Tilliette, Peter von Moos and Marie Formarier)[6] have shown that this form of codified public speech did not disappear and was

5 "Les Evangiles sont des récits que nous qualifierions de compositions tragico-romanesques ou de romans tragiques, mais avec cette caractéristique nouvelle et singulière, comparativement aux tragédies antiques, de comporter un dénouement heureux." Delorme, *Le Christ grec,* 30.

6 Jean-Yves Tilliette, "L'*exemplum* rhétorique: questions de définition," in *Les* exempla *médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, (eds.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu and Jacques Berlioz (Paris: Champion, 1998), 43–65; Peter von Moos, "Le dialogue latin au Moyen Âge: l'exemple d'Evrard d'Ypres," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 4 (1989): 993–1028; Marie Formarier, "*Sermo humilis* et sublime dans le récit exemplaire d'une vision (Césaire de Heisterbach, *Dialogue des Miracles*, VIII, 5)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge* 124, no.1 (2012). Available online, URL: http://mefrm.revues.org/295. Accessed: 9 January, 2015.

adopted by other circles for other types of expression, most importantly by the new 'masters of speech' (to use the expression from the title of Nicole Bériou's book on preachers)[7] who needed it to transmit the 'new word'[8] from the thirteenth century onwards.

Nineteenth-century Romantics saw rhetoric as a kind of 'corset,' obsolete and pretentious. In France, it disappeared from school *curricula* in 1885. The interest in rhetoric was renewed in the late 1950s with the publication, in Belgium, of Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's book on the subject. For Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, rhetoric is not simply an artifice of expression; it is also a mode of communication and thought which is at the same time very basic and very fundamental. Later Jean-Blaise Grize's works on ordinary logic, Oswald Ducrot's on utterance and the publications of the Group μ at the University of Liège contributed to the debate.[9] This renewed interest prompted the establishment of links between rhetoric and argumentation, theories of communication, analysis of the discourse, literary theory and cognitive psychology.[10] With the advent of the structuralist movement and the publication of Roland Barthes's *L'ancienne rhetorique. Aide-memoire*[11] rhetoric became an important topic of discussion in the field of humanities in France.

It is in this context that the concept of 'storytelling' attracted a lot of attention. 'Storytelling' is an old method used in journalism and imported into the domains of marketing and, later, political communication following George Bush's electoral campaign in 2004. It consists in disseminating edifying stories to stir the public's emotions.[12] Brian Patrick McGuire and Jacques Berlioz

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7 Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle*, Collection des études augustiniennes: Moyen-Âge et temps modernes 31 (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1998).

8 Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Au XIII^e siècle, une parole nouvelle," in *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*, (ed.) Jean Delumeau, vol. 1 (Toulouse: Privat, 1979), 257–78.

9 Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *Traité de l'argumentation. La nouvelle rhétorique* (1st ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958; 6th ed. Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2008); Jean-Blaise Grize, *Logique naturelle et communications* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996); Oswald Ducrot and Jean-Claude Anscombre, *L'argumentation dans la langue* (Bruxelles: Mardaga, 1983).

10 In this context, metaphor and metonym are not considered simply as figures of speech but as fundamental mental mechanisms.

11 Roland Barthes, "L'ancienne rhétorique. Aide-mémoire," *Communications* 16 (1970): 172–223.

12 On this subject, see, for example: Robert Fulford, *The Triumph of Narrative: Storytelling in the Age of Mass Culture* (Toronto: Anansi, 1999). In France, this method was presented and

applied this concept to medieval material – collections of Cistercian *exempla* and Humbert of Romans's works respectively.[13] According to Michel Meyer, rhetoric should be understood as negotiation of adjustments of distance between the interlocutors[14] which makes it "a powerful tool for the analysis and understanding of the self and of human relations."[15] As such, it has become the matrix for the research in humanities.[16]

Another key concept at the centre of the discussion in the present volume is 'faire croire'. It should be noted that the expression 'faire croire' functions very well in French but is not easy to render in English. It can be translated literally as 'making believe' or 'causing someone to believe,' and refers to a complex process that involves different strategies and means of persuasion, both religious and rhetorical, but could not be reduced to them, as it also involves important social and institutional aspects. Believing, as Michel de Certeau points out, is a social act that has practical effects, and the will of making people believe gives life to the institutions and provides a counterpart for the search of love and/or identity.[17]

How is it possible to make someone believe? This research question was posed in the 1980 conference "*Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle*" organised by André Vauchez with Jacques Berlioz and Jacques Chiffoleau.[18] The term 'faire croire' was for the first time used in the field of medieval studies during this confe-

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analysed by Christian Salmon in his book *Storytelling. La machine à fabriquer des histoires et à formater les esprits* (Paris: La découverte, 2007).

13 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Cistercian Storytelling – A Living Tradition: Surprises in the World of Research," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 39 (2004): 281–309; Jacques Berlioz, "Storytelling management et récits exemplaires. Le Prologue du *De dono timoris* du dominicain Humbert de Romans, mort en 1277)," in *Institution und Charisma – Festschrift für Gert Melville zum 65. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Franz J. Felten, Annette Kehnel, Stefan Weinfurter (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 549–58.

14 "La rhétorique est la négociation de la différence entre des individus sur une question donnée": Michel Meyer, *La rhétorique*, Que sais-je? 2133 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), 10.

15 "Un puissant outil d'analyse et de compréhension de soi et des rapports humains": Michel Meyer, *Principia rhetorica: une théorie générale de l'argumentation* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), 8.

16 Achille Weinberg, "Aux sources de l'éloquence," *Sciences humaines* 2009/11 (n°209): 35.

17 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 178.

18 Papers presented at the conference were published as a collection of articles *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle. Table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome en collaboration avec l'Institut d'histoire médiévale de l'Université de Padoue*, (ed.) André Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981).

rence, and many of the topics discussed remain relevant to the present day. In this volume, we would like to explore more in depth how it is possible, through a specific kind of narrative, to move the audience and instill faith in the story that is being told (and ultimately in God)? How to make people invest in the social act of believing, how to make them act, and how to construct this act? Bearing the difficulty in translating 'faire croire' into English, in this collection we will use the expression 'making believe' in inverted commas, followed by the French original in brackets (*faire croire*).

The editors of the present volume were delighted to find the expression *faire croire* in the programme of our research partner LabEx HASTEC, more precisely in its third line of enquiry "Techniques used to (make) believe" ("Techniques du (faire) croire").[19] In this framework, the techniques of 'making believe' (*faire croire*) are analysed in the contexts that lie beyond medieval religious history such as the scientific discourse, marketing, management, new religious movements in Lebanon, Latin America or on the Internet, taking into account the dialectics of belief, vision and knowledge. This interdisciplinary approach prompted us to invite contributions to our project from colleagues in sociology, anthropology and history of other periods.[20] Their papers cast new light on the texts and help us understand the meaning, function and strategies of Cistercian persuasion.

There is no doubt that the analysis of the use of rhetoric in medieval church writing will improve our understanding of the mechanisms of persuasion and 'making believe' in medieval Latin religious literature. The Cistercian writers provide us with excellent material for the study of rhetoric and persuasion; most importantly, the members of the Order, before the mendicant brothers and after Gregory the Great, made an important contribution to the creation of the narrative form of the *exemplum. Exempla* are short tales borrowed from diverse sources and made exemplary by an implicit or explicit moral message that influences the audience and can change people's behaviour.[21] The

19 Laboratoire d'excellence "Histoire et anthropologie des savoirs, des techniques et des croyances," created in 2010 and headed by Philippe Hoffmann (LEM: Laboratoire d'étude sur les monothéismes). Nathalie Luca is in charge of the third line of enquiry and the CéSor: Centre d'études en sciences sociales du religieux (part of the EHESS).

20 Nathalie Luca (sociology), Danièle Dehouve (anthropology) and Pierre-Antoine Fabre (modern history) participated in the final roundtable chaired by Nicole Bériou.

21 Le Goff famously defined *exempla* as "short stories presented as true and destined to be inserted in a speech, generally a sermon, in order to convince the audience with a redemptive moral lesson" ("récits brefs donnés comme véridiques, et destinés à être insérés dans un discours, en général un sermon, pour convaincre un auditoire par une leçon salutaire"): Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'*Exemplum, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984, re-edited

Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach is distinguished by his particular place among the authors who contributed to this particular form of 'storytelling'. As the articles in this collection will demonstrate, he occupies a place at one and the same time within the norm and on its margins; he represents orthodoxy but also breaks the rules. His particular brand of persuasion was popular within the Order (especially in the monasteries of the Clairvaux filiation) and even more appreciated outside it. Caesarius's stories underwent, as we shall see, multiple reinterpretations and rewritings during and beyond the Middle Ages. In the next section of this Introduction, we shall focus our attention on Caesarius's life in order to provide the reader with background information necessary to understand the context in which his works and, more specifically, his *Dialogus miraculorum*[22] were produced.

Caesarius's Life Gleaned from His *Dialogus Miraculorum*

The *DM* with its wealth of autobiographical details is the main source of our knowledge about Caesarius's life. This autobiographical dimension of the Cistercian's work forms part of his authorial strategy and contributes to the extraordinary effectiveness of his exemplary narratives.[23] These biographical

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Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 37–8). Other scholars have since offered their own definitions. The discussion on the nature of the *exempla* is summarised in Nicolas Louis, "*Exemplum ad usum et abusum*: définition d'usages d'un récit qui n'en a que la forme," in *Le récit exemplaire* (*1200–1800*). *Actes du XXIII^e colloque international de la Société d'Analyse de la Topique Romanesque, Belley 17–20 septembre 2009*, (eds.) Madeleine Jeay and Véronique Duché (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011), 17–36. See also Fritz Kemmler, Exempla *in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne"* (Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1984), 154–71, and the Introduction to *Le tonnerre des exemples.* Exempla *et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, (eds.) Jacques Berlioz, Pascal Collomb and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 11–5.

22 Henceforth, *DM*. In the present collection, the numbers of the *distinctiones* are given in Roman numerals and chapter numbers in Arabic numerals. In all the articles, translations from the *DM* are provided by the contributors.

23 As Joseph-Marie Canivez remarks in his article dedicated to Caesarius in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, vol. 2 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1953), cols. 430–2, here col. 430: "The unique source where we can find some details on the life of Caesarius is his own works" ("L'unique source où nous pouvons trouver quelques détails sur la vie de Césaire sont ses propres écrits"). For example, in 1188, he says that he was "adhuc puer" – still a child (*DM* IV, 79), and this is why his year of birth is considered to be 1180. For more detail on Caesarius's life, see McGuire's works, especially "Friends and

elements were first put together by Jacob Fischer in his 1591 edition of the *DM* (*Vita Caesarii ex his dialogorum libris collecta*), and this biography was used in dictionaries and lists of medieval authors.

Already in the Prologue to the *DM*, written in the first person singular, Caesarius takes full responsibility for the structure of the work (twelve *distinctiones* in two volumes), its objectives as well as its identity: "Et quia continentia huius Dialogi satis miraculosa est, nomen ei indatur Dialogus miraculorum" (Since this dialogue contains much that is miraculous, I called it *Dialogue on miracles*). Finally, he reveals his own name in an acrostic: the first letters of the twelve *distinctiones* form the phrase *Cesarii munus* (Caesarius's work). To justify this subterfuge, the author of the *DM* claims that he wishes to escape his fellow monks' acerbic criticism: "... quia dum dictantis nomen pagina supprimit, detrahentis lingua citius deficit et arescit. Attamen qui nomen eius scire desiderat, prima distinctionum elementa compingat" (for as long as the book conceals the name of the author, the bile of the detractors will be kept at bay and will dry out more quickly; as for the one who wants to know the author of this work, let him assemble the first letters of the twelve books). The allusions to his abbot and the Abbot of Marienstatt (the abbey founded by Heisterbach in 1215) must have been enough for the contemporaries to identify this particular Caesarius.

The general style and tone of the *DM* motivates its author to reveal key elements of his own biography, such as his upbringing. He was born around 1180, possibly in Cologne where he spent his childhood. At first, he attended classes of Master Ensfrid, dean of the collegial church of St Andrew in Cologne who taught him the basics;[24] later he studied with Master Rudolph, at the cathedral

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Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 167–247. See also Fritz Wagner, "Studien zu Caesarius von Heisterbach," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 29 (1973): 79–95, esp. pp. 79–84.

24 VI, 4: "Simile pene egit dominus Ensfridus Decanus sancti Andreae temporibus meis. Hoc etiam noveris, quod ex dissuetudine scientia discernendi inter cibos gustui minuatur... Praedictus enim Ensfridus pro rumbo monachis carnes apposuit, et illi comederunt. Novicius: Casum hunc plenius nosse vellem. Monachus: Viri huius venerabilis vita tantis misericordiae operibus exstitit ornata, ut digna sit poni super candelabrum. Casum de quo quaeris, et reliqua eius opera, quae ex parte vidi, et ex parte aliis referentibus didici, fida tibi pandam relatione. In eadem enim ecclesia, in qua Decanus fuit, literas didici, et poenitet me nunc de eius virtutibus tam pauca investigasse" (Almost the same was done, in my recollection, by Ensfrid, dean of the church of St Andrew. But you should know that when you lose the habit, taste loses the ability to distinguish between dishes.... The aforementioned Ensfrid gave the monks meat under the guise of fish, and they ate it. Novice: I would like to understand the reason for this better. Monk: The life of

school in Cologne (*DM* I, 32; IV, 26). He met Henry of Albano, cardinal bishop who came to Cologne to preach the Crusade in 1188 (*DM* IV, 79) and saw the comet mentionned under 1198 in *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (*DM* X, 26). The presence of known historical figures and events in the *DM* made it possible to establish some events in Caesarius's life and some key dates.

The story of Caesarius's conversion in *Distinctio* I is introduced by a passage (*DM* I, 16) which places the Cistercian's own life at the centre of his didactic project: "Sed quid quaero exempla de remoto, cum hoc quod de aliis recito, impletum gaudeam in me ipso?" (But why look for faraway examples when what I am saying about other people I rejoice to see realised in myself?). When Caesarius accompanied Gevard, abbot of Heisterbach [1195/6–1208] on the way from the convent of Walberberg to Cologne, the abbot told him about the vision of the Virgin accompanied by St Anne and Mary Magdalen during the harvest season in Clairvaux.[25] Caesarius writes: "Sermone huius visionis in tantum motus fui, ut Abbati promitterem, me non venturum nisi ad eius domum gratia conversionis" (I was so moved by the tale of this vision that I promised the abbot that I would not present myself anywhere but in this monastery, *DM* I, 17). In this exceptional story, Caesarius involves himself in the process of persuasion that is at work in his *exempla*.

He returns to the topic of his vocation in Chapter 44 of *Distinctio* X, dedicated to miracles, as he tells the story of a miraculous recovery from an illness he experienced as a child.[26] We learn how he became a novice at Heisterbach Abbey (*DM* II, 10), then the master of novices: "Cum ex debito iniunctae sollicitudinis aliqua ex his quae in ordine nostro nostris temporibus miraculose gesta sunt et quotidie fiunt, recitarem noviciis, rogatus sum a quibusdam cum instantia multa, eadem scripto perpetuare" (When, as it is my duty in the role that is given to me [master of novices], I was telling the novices some of

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this venerable man was so adorned with acts of charity that it was worthy of being set on a candlestick [i.e. should not be concealed but should be shown to everyone; Mark 4.21] The case that you are asking about and other deeds some of which I have witnessed and about others I know from hearing them told by others, I shall expound for you in a truthful narrative. Indeed, in the same church where he was dean I learned to read and write and I regret having learned so little about his virtues).

25 Caesarius's conversion occupies the whole of Chapter 17 of the *Distinctio* I (*De conversione*) with a title *De conversione auctoris hujus opusculi* (On the conversion of the author of this little work). On the vision of the Virgin accompanied by St Anne and Mary Magdalen, see Stefano Mula, "Les *exempla* cisterciens du Moyen Âge, entre philologie et histoire," in *L'œuvre littéraire du Moyen Âge aux yeux de l'historien et du philologue,* (eds.) Ludmilla Evdokimova and Victoria Smirnova (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 377–92.

26 It is one of a series of miracles that take place during baptism (X, 42–45).

the miraculous facts that occurred in our Order in our time and that are still happening every day, many insistently asked me to preserve them forever in writing: Prologue). As a rule, Caesarius reports miracles that happened recently and sometimes immediately before they were committed to parchment. For example, the Cistercian mentions the earthquakes in Cyprus that happened in 1222, one year before he finished work on the *DM*, according to McGuire.[27]

From the pages of the *DM* we gradually learn the details of its author's spiritual journey and of the many trips he undertook, usually to accompany his abbot, for example, to Klaarkamp in Friesland, Burtscheid near Aachen, Groningen, Eberbach, Walberberg and the Cologne area. Since these constant peregrinations must have been difficult to combine with his duties as an educator, one may be tempted to assume that he abandoned his role as the master of novices soon after 1218; however, a 1221 document mentions Caesarius in this role.[28] In Aubert Miraeus's *Chronicon Cisterciensis*[29] (1614), Caesarius appears as the prior of Villers, and Chrysostomus Henriquez's *Menologium Cisterciense*[30] (1630) cites him as the prior of Heisterbach; however, McGuire has shown these references to be the result of a confusion.[31]

In the Prologue to the *DM*, Caesarius explains his role in reporting the events that the reader will find on the pages of the book: "Testis est mihi Dominus, nec unum quidem capitulum in hoc Dialogo me finxisse. Quod si aliqua forte aliter sunt gesta, quam a me scripta, magis his videtur imputandum esse, a quibus mihi sunt relata" (The Lord be my witness, I haven't invented a single chapter of this dialogue. If some facts did not take place the way I described them it should rather be considered the responsibility of those who told me about them). He often presents himself as an author in control of the material that he uses in his work in accordance with his particular authorial strategies. For example in Chapter 17 of Distinctio VII, he writes: "Nuper monachus quidam ordinis nostri, Adam nomine, per nos transiens, inter cetera, mirifica quaedam de Domina nostra nobis recitavit, quae in suo monasterio veraciter contigisse testabatur, ex quibus duo statim proferam, reliqua locis competentibus reservabo" (A certain monk of our Order named Adam who visited us on his way

27 McGuire, *Oral Sources*, 177–79.

28 Falko Neininger, "Caesarius von Heisterbach in Walberberg," in *Arbor amoena comis. 25 Jahre Mittellateinisches Seminar in Bonn, 1965–1990*, (ed.) Ewald Könsgen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), 207–18.

29 Aubert Miraeus, *Chronicon Cisterciensis ordinis* (Coloniae: Gualther, 1614), 127.

30 Chrysostomus Henriquez, *Menologium Cisterciense annotationibus illustratum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1630), 324.

31 McGuire, "Oral sources," 173 (note 13).

told us, among other miracles, miracles of our Mother the Virgin [...] two of which I shall report here reserving the others to more appropriate chapters).

In the *exempla* of the *DM*, Caesarius sometimes cites his other works (I, 13): "Hoc exemplum et alia quaedam, quae hic aedificationis causa scripturus sum, in Homeliis moralibus de infantia Salvatoris posuisse me memini" (This example and some others that I will write here for edification, I remember having cited in the homilies on the childhood of the Saviour). Around a third of more than 300 *exempla* from his exegetical and homiletic works also feature in the *DM*.[32] Caesarius is a loquacious and prolific writer and he claims the status of the author[33] in a famous letter to Peter, prior of Marienstatt (*Epistola catalogica*[34]) where he provides a list of his works consisting of 36 entries. Besides the texts that have already been mentioned, there is another book of miracles (*Libri octo miraculorum*), numerous sermons, biblical and liturgical commentaries, a list of archbishops of Cologne, a *Vita* of St Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, assassinated in 1225, and a *Vita* of St Elisabeth of Thuringia. Caesarius died around 1240 when he was in his later fifties or early sixties.

The Making of Caesarius's Authorial Image: Portraits, Mental Image, *Ethos*

The narrativity of the self, characteristic of Caesarius's writing, contributed to the creation of a number of different 'portraits' of the author over the centuries. Here, however, we shall focus solely on the medieval images of the writer. Manuscripts C26 and C27 of the Düsseldorf University Library (from the Cistercian abbey of Altenberg) transmitted the *DM* with historiated

32 Anton E. Schönbach, *Studien zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, bk. 3 *Über Caesarius von Heisterbach*, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 163:1 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1909), 1–33. The *exempla* from Caesarius's sermons were edited by Alfons Hilka: Alfons Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1933), 63–188. See also Jean-Thiébaut Welter, *L'*Exemplum *dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris-Toulouse: Editions de l'Occitania, 1927, repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), 113–18.

33 Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "L'émergence de l'auteur et son rapport à l'autorité dans les recueils d'*exempla*," in *Auctor et auctoritas. Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale, Université de Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, 11–13 juin 1999*, (ed.) Michel Zimmermann, Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 59 (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2001), 175–200.

34 Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten*, 1: 1–31.

initials. It is a very rare occurrence among the medieval manuscripts of *exemplum* collections which were hardly ever illuminated. The initial C of the Prologue ("Colligite fragmenta . . .") in ms. C 27, where Caesarius reveals his name with the help of an acrostic, is decorated with an image of a monk in the process of teaching a novice who is listening intently.

This image acquired the status of Caesarius's official portrait.[35] The first chapter of *Distinctio* I is dedicated to the history of the Cistercian Order (following the *Exordium Cistercii*) and is illustrated in the same manuscript by a lesser known image that could either represent any Cistercian monk in receipt of a divine vision or Caesarius himself. In the latter case, the image would give authority to the work as a whole by showing that it is inspired by God Himself.

Caesarius is the only author of a medieval *exemplum* collection whose 'portraits' were preserved in the extant manuscripts. Although we can only speculate on this subject, it is tempting to surmise that he was, indeed, the only one whose authorial image was so powerful as to have stimulated visual representation which, in turn, maintained the audience's interest in Caesarius's person and his works. The 'portraits' at once reflected and defined the mental image of the author of the *DM* that the readers may have formed. The singularly autobiographical quality of his writing, no doubt, meant that the audience could relate to its author and thus be persuaded more easily.

The narrativity of the self, the quality and apparent clarity of Caesarius's message together with the existence of visual representations of the Cistercian created an effect that far exceeded simple persuasion of his immediate audience. All these elements contributed to the production of a specific kind of *ethos*, an image of authority that promoted 'making believe' (*faire croire*) over

35 There is, however, one problem: why is the Cistercian monk dressed in black, when, traditionally, the Cistercians wore white habits, which is the reason why they were known as the 'white monks'? Maybe this image represents, instead, St Benedict explaining the Rule to a Cistercian, maybe even Caesarius himself? In reality, as was demonstrated by James France in his study of St Bernard's heritage in medieval art, Cistercian monks, especially in Germany, often wore cowls (hooded cloaks with large sleeves) in black or brown, in apparent contradiction with the statute of the General Chapter of 1270. Out of the 658 images where we can discern the colour of Bernard of Clairvaux's habit, 200 show him dressed in a black, brown or dark grey cowl. Sometimes, as if to avoid possible confusion, the artists show a bottom of the tunic or a white cuff below the abbot of Clairvaux's coat. It is exactly the case of the monk in our miniature, who is therefore, without a doubt, a Cistercian. See James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, Cistercian Publications 210 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2007).

FIGURE 1 *A Cistercian monk* (*Caesarius of Heisterbach?*) *in the process of teaching a novice, fol. 1 recto, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, C27* (*loan from the city of Düsseldorf*).

FIGURE 2 *A Cistercian monk (Caesarius of Heisterbach?) receiving a divine vision, fol. 2 recto, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, C27 (loan from the city of Düsseldorf).*

the centuries and across continents and stimulates our interest in the works of this Cistercian monk today.

Caesarius's reputation was such that in the seventeenth century he was considered to have been a saint by Henriquez, who writes the *Menologium*:

> In Germania beatus Caesarius prior Heisterbachensis, vir pietate et doctrina celeberrimus qui sanctorum Patrum gesta pia sollicitudine colligens et posteritati commendans, eorum etiam vestigiis inhaerens, variis virtutibus et miraculis claruit, et cum magna sanctitatis opinione felicem agonem in ordine consummavit. (In Germany the blessed Caesarius, prior of Heisterbach, a man celebrated for his piety and his learning, in his pious care collected the deeds of the Holy Fathers and, bequeathing them to future generations and himself following in their steps, he shone with diverse virtues and miracles, was known for his sanctity and passed away happily in his Order.)[36]

36 Henriquez, *Menologium Cisterciense*, 324.

This reputation of sanctity probably explains the fact that St Caesarius of Terracina was represented in the church of St George in Cologne as a figure dressed in white in a Cistercian fashion and holding a book which could well have been a work by Caesarius of Heisterbach.[37]

The *Dialogus Miraculorum* and Its Reception

Caesarius's best known work is the *DM*, a fictional dialogue that represents the heyday of the Cistercian tradition of collections of *exempla*, the tradition that started in the 1180s.[38] As such, it should not be considered as an isolated work but as the result of a long and slow process driven by the belief in the exemplary stories' ability to modify people's behaviour. Thus, the *DM* was created to change and influence the lives of Cistercian monks, novices and lay brothers. This work occupies the seventeenth place in Caesarius's *Epistola catalogica*: "Item, scripsi Dialogum magnum visionum atque miraculorum. Huius libri sunt duodecim. Prologus sic incipit: Colligite fragmenta ne pereant" (Also, I wrote a long dialogue on visions and miracles. The Prologue begins with "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost" [Jn 6, 12].)[39] The *exempla* of this collection, composed between 1219 and 1223,[40] are imbedded in the framework of a dialogue between a novice and a monk about the lives of monks and, by extension, of all Christians, and about how best to fight the Devil. The *DM* explores the monks's existence from the moment when they enter the monastery to their death; it is divided into twelve parts (*distinctiones*)

37 The sixteenth-century painting either by Barthel Bruyn the Elder or one of his sons (Arnt or Barthel) represents 'St Caesarius,' identifiable with an African deacon martyred in Terracina during the rule of Nero or Diocletican. According to Egid Beitz, in some aspects the representation of the saint in this painting was modelled on the image of his namesake, Caesarius of Heisterbach. See Egid Beitz, *Caesarius von Heisterbach und die bildende Kunst* (Augsburg, Benno Filser Verlag, 1926), 71.

38 Almost all of the Cistercian collections of *exempla* have now been edited. The last collection to be published was the thirteenth-century *Collectio exemplorum Cisterciensis*, edited under the direction of Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 243, coll. Exempla Medii Aevi 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

39 Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten*, 1:5.

40 *Caesarii Heisterbachensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, (ed.) Josef Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, Bonn, Brussels: Heberle, 1851). Accessible online, for example: Césaire de Heisterbach en ligne (CEL), URL: http://gahom.ehess.fr/index.php?721. Accesed 9 January, 2015.

and contains almost 800 exemplary stories, most of which are personal and original. Unlike some Cistercian collections that did not circulate much outside the Order, the *DM* enjoyed a great success due to its vast scope and vivid mental imagery, but also, possibly, thanks to the teacher-student dynamic between the Monk and the Novice that it depicts. This dynamic creates a personal dimension that invites the reader or listener to empathise with the characters and become interested in the events depicted in the text and thus to absorb the moral teachings more easily. Through its dialogical framework, the *DM* appeals to the audience's emotions and values and engages the rhetorical modes of persuasion known as *pathos*. The *DM*'s success is attested by around sixty extant manuscripts including those containing an abridged version of the text but not mentioning numerous *excerpta*. A complete study of the dissemination and circulation of the manuscripts remains to be conducted.

The compilers of *exemplum* collections seem to have quickly accepted Caesarius as an authority. When the audience changes or the stories themselves are reused in other works, including translations and adaptations, their form and content undergo a transformation, yet they remain effective conversion tools. An important number of authors borrowed from the *DM* when they needed *exempla* to illustrate a particular point. Among these compilers were Dominicans (Arnold of Liège, Johannes Gobi and others), Franciscans (Johannes Pauli, the author of *Schimpf und Ernst*), regular canons (Johannes Busch, presumed author of the *Speculum exemplorum*) and Jesuits, for example John Major who compiled the *Magnum speculum exemplorum*. The titles of some late medieval (fifteenth-century) manuscripts produced at Clairvaux stress the effectiveness of the *DM* as a tool of persuasion: *Dialogi ad novicium de modernis miraculis ad edificationem claustralium* (Dialogues with the Novice about recent miracles for the instruction of monks) or *Dialogi ad edificationem claustralium* (Dialogues for the instruction of monks).[41]

However, at times the *DM* became the object of controversy and got a mixed reception ranging from praise to acerbic criticism. In his *De scriptoribus ecclesisticis* (1494), Johannes Trithemius praises Caesarius's moral system and his writing: "[composuit] simplici et aperto sermone nonnulla opuscula, quorum lectio devotis et simplicioribus fratribus non est spernenda" ([he wrote] in a simple and clear style many works, the reading of which should not be

41 These are mss. Dijon, BM, 592 (n° 1313 – P 30 in the 1472 inventory) and BM, 641. See André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle*, vol. 1, *Catalogues et répertoires* (Paris, CNRS, 1979), 231. It is interesting to note that the *DM* does not feature in the medieval inventories of book collections at Cîteaux and Pontigny.

neglected by devout and simpler brothers).[42] On the other hand, according to his biographer, a famous theologian and philosopher Master Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489)[43] believed the *DM* to be absurd and even dangerous and, therefore, not suitable to be read in a Cistercian refectory.

> Habet ordo Cisterciensis librum Dialogorum Caesarii valde ineptum, qui in coenobiis ejusdem ordinis solebat ad mensam legi: nam novitas delectabat monachos parum peritos. Ad illam semper auscultabat Wesselus, et subinde suave ridebat. Rogatus causam dicebat: Rideo crassa mendacia. Praestaret Sacras literas et Bernhardi devotalia fratribus proponi: nam haec praeter ineptiam etiam multa periculosa continent. (The Cistercian Order has a book of dialogues by Caesarius, rather foolish, and it is usually read during mealtimes in the monasteries of this order, because novelty pleases inexperienced monks. Wessel always listened to it, and then laughed sweetly. Being asked why he did so, he replied: I am laughing at its crass falsehoods. It would be better to have the Holy Scriptures and the devotional writings of Bernard presented to the brethren; for this contains not only absurdity, but much that is dangerous.)[44]

Interestingly enough, Gansfort did not object to the stories of miracles but to the very narrative theology of the *DM* and to its message as a whole, the *logos* expressed in this book. Caesarius's preoccupation with the prayer for the dead, confession and good deeds to which the monks dedicate themselves at the expense of meditation[45] contradicted Gasfort's own theological approach. More importantly, this criticism, albeit isolated, attests to the power

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42 Johannes Trithemius, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel: Amerbach 1494), f. 63v.

43 Wessel Gansfort, *Life and Writings; Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Northern Humanism*, (eds.) Fokke Akkerman, Gerda C. Huisman and Arie Johan Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

44 From the second sentence onwards, the translation with minor changes is quoted from Jaap van Moolenbroek, "Wessel Gansfort as a Teacher at the Cistercian Abbey of Aduard. The Dismissal of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600*, (eds.) Koen Goudriaan, Jaap van Moolenbroek and Ad Tervoort (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 113–32, here p. 124.

45 Moolenbroek, "Wessel Gansfort as a Teacher," pp. 127–8. Wessel's acerbic criticism was also directed at Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*: "quem vocabat monastico labore concinnatas nugas. Scriptor enim studiose in eo rhetoricatur" (that he called fables, collected by the monks' work. The author studiously unleashes his eloquence): Wessel Gansfort, *Opera*, (ed.) Petrus Pappus à Tratzberg (Groningen: Iohannes Sassius, 1614), ***1v. Wessel, however, believed that Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* should be interpreted in a more allegorical fashion.

of Caesarius's message and his art of persuasion which were considered important enough to be argued against and reviled.

The *DM* is one of the few collections of *exempla* that were published as printed books in the fifteenth century. The *editio princeps*[46] was published around 1475 by Ulrich Zell († 1507),[47] a pioneer printer from Cologne. The second edition,[48] clearly inspired by the first, was printed by Johann Koelhoff the Elder († 1493),[49] Zell's colleague and competitor, in 1481.

The Reformers were, as a rule, opposed to the use of exemplary literature, and there is evidence that the *DM* may have been ridiculed by the leader of the Swiss Reformation Huldrych Zwingli.[50] On the other hand, in the period between 1591 and 1662, the *DM* was published twice by Catholics. One of these publishers was Jacob Fischer, native of Harlem, who later became chaplain in Amsterdam. His edition enjoyed remarkable popularity and was reprinted three times (first in Cologne in 1591 by Arnold Mylius, then by the same publisher in 1599 and, finally, in 1604 by Martin Nutius in Antwerp).[51] On the title page, Fischer praised Caesarius's fidelity to Catholic doctrine, his sober style and his attention to detail as well as his ability to influence behaviour and encourage devotion and piety.

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46 STC No. ic00030000. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann: 1925), nº 5880. Available online, URL: http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW05880.htm. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

47 Jakob Schnorrenberg, "Zell, Ulrich," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 45 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900), 19–21.

48 ISTC No.: ic00031000. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 1: nº 5581. Available online, URL: http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW05881.htm. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

49 Hans Lülfing, "Koelhoff, Johann d. Ä.," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (NDB), vol. 12 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1980), 318–19.

50 According to Jacob Fischer, the editor of the *DM*: "Nichil proinde movebit Catholicum lectorem illa hominis Zuingliani iniqua censura, dum scribit in his Dialogis omnia fabularum plena esse" (This is why no Catholic reader will be convinced by the severe criticism of this Zwingli who wrote that these dialogues contain numerous fables): *Illustrium miraculorum et historiarum memorabilium libri XII* (Cologne, Arnold Mylius, 1591), *Ad lectorem*, not paginated. However, we could not find any mention of the *DM* in Zwingli's writings.

51 In Fisher's edition, the text of the *DM* is preceded by a letter of dedication addressed to the abbot of Himmerod (Mother House of Heisterbach), Johannes Roderus. We know that Roderus financed the studies of Fisher who went on to become doctor of theology. See Ambrosius Schneider, *Die Cistercienserabtei Himmerod von der Renaissance bis zur Auflösung: 1511–1802* (Cologne: Wienand 1976), 106.

> Illustrium miraculorum et historiarum memorabilium lib. XII ante annos fere cccc. a Caesario Heisterbachensi ordinis Cisterciensis, Coloniensis dioecesis, viro venerandae pietatis et reconditae doctrinae, de iis quae sua aetate memoratu digna contigerunt, accurate conscripti. Ab omnibus quidem Orthodoxae religionis & verae pietatis amantibus, propter evidentem utilitatem & iucunditatem diu desiderati. Nunc ab innumeris mendis, quibus incuria veterum scriptorum et chalcographorum scatebant, diligenter repurgati, et recens in lucem editi. (Twelve books of illustrious miracles and memorable stories based on the events that happened during his lifetime and worthy of being remembered, written with great care 400 years ago by Caesarius of Heisterbach of the Cistercian Order, in the diocese of Cologne, a man of venerable piety and of commendable doctrine. They [these books] have long been awaited by all the followers of true faith and true piety due to their obvious usefulness and pleasantness. Now they have diligently been cleared of countless errors that they had in abundance due to the carelessness of the ancient scribes and typesetters and have recently been published.)[52]

In 1662, Bertrand Tissier, a Cistercian from Bonnefontaine in the diocese of Reims, published the *DM* in the second tome of his *Bibliotheca patrum Cisterciensium*. Like Fischer, Tissier also mentions those who criticise the *DM* for telling tall tales. He feels obliged to justify Caesarius and defend his conformity to the Catholic dogma. At the same time, Tissier highlights his own reservations and criticism with typographical means: he prints the stories that he sees as dubious in a smaller font and, at the end of the book, attempts to clarify some points of the doctrine and to show that certain apparently fantastical stories do in fact conform to the dogma. Furthermore, the editor allows himself to rewrite passages that he sees as outrageous. Nevertheless, like Fischer, Tissier insists on the *DM*'s efficiency as an instrument of religious persuasion.

> Hi Caesarini Dialogi sicut et opuscula alia partum ordinis nostri [...] scintillae sunt, imo incendia, ad charitatem et religiosae vitae perfectionem vehementer animos inflammantia: ad rubiginem omnem peccati et cuiuslibet imperfectionis feliciter consumentia. (These *Dialogues* by Caesarius and the works of other Fathers of our Order [...] are sparks or

52 *Illustrium miraculorum et historiarum memorabilium libri XII*, title page.

> better to say fire, they ignite souls for charity and improvement of religious life and happily destroy the rust of any sin and foible in any man.)[53]

As Jacob Fischer and Bernard Tessier's editions demonstrate, at the end of the sixteenth – beginning of the seventeenth century, the *DM* was considered to be a useful tool for the purposes of Counter-Reformation polemics. The two editions are linked to Cistercian circles and are inscribed in the context of Cistercian persuasion adapted to the contemporary situation. In the changing historical and religious climate, Caesarius's work retained its relevance and effectiveness.

The *DM* also represented considerable *historical* interest and was seen as a source for the study of the history of the Cistercian Order. For the seventeenth-century scholar Aubert Miraeus, the author of the *Chronicon Cisterciensis ordinis* (1614), the *DM* was a source of information on the history of the Order and especially of the Abbey of Heisterbach.[54] Moreover, the *DM* was used by scholars interested in the literary history of the Order. For example, Caesarius features in Charles De Visch's *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* (1656) – a catalogue of Cistercian works with biographies of their authors.[55]

Even if the *DM* was not reedited in the eighteenth century, certain extant copies of the two editions mentioned above display marks of ownership with the dates that point to the fact that the books were read continuously throughout the century. Caesarius was included in the catalogues of ecclesiastical authors such as the *Bibliotheca Coloniensis* (1747) by the Jesuit Hermann Joseph Hartzheim who not only dedicated a detailed entry to the Cistercian but also printed his *Epistola catalogica*.[56] In the Age of Enlightenment Caesarius was criticised for being naive and gullible, a symbol of medieval superstitions. Once again, such criticism meant that the Cistercian's work remained pertinent and its powers of persuasion were considered important enough to merit such condemnation. One of the critics was Casimir Oudin († 1717), author of the *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*:

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53 *Bibliotheca patrum Cisterciensium*, (ed.) Bertrand Tissier, vol. 2 (Bonnefontaine abbey, 1662). Dedication letter to Dom Jean Jouaud, not paginated.

54 Miraeus, *Chronicon*, 182. See also Gaspar Jongelinus, *Notitia abbatiarum ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Henningius, 1640), 34–7.

55 Charles De Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* (Cologne, Ioannes Busaeus, 1656), 57.

56 Hermann Joseph Hartzheim, *Bibliotheca Coloniensis, in qua vita et libri typo vulgati et manuscripti recensentur omnium archi-dioeceseos Coloniensis . . . indigenarum et incolarum scriptorum* (Cologne: Thomas Odendall, 1747), 43–5.

> Hoc in opere, quam simplex fuerit Caesarius in credendo, quam facilis in fabulis scripto consignandis, nullus negabit qui ejusmodi monachalem farraginem legerit; nullus leget qui non impense ad tantas fabulas riserit. (How gullible Caesarius was, how easily he confirmed all sorts of fables, is clear to anyone who has read the nonsensical writings of this monk. And no one will read them without laughing at such fables.)[57]

From the nineteenth century onwards, Caesarius's works became the object of growing scholarly interest. A brief overview of modern historiography is provided in the next section.

Historiography[58]

The rise in scholarly interest in the *DM* in Germany in the 1850s was stimulated by the increasing popularity of regional and cultural history in the nineteenth century. In the Preface to his 1851 classical edition of the *DM*, Joseph Strange,[59] who specialized in genealogy and regional history, underlines Caesarius's significance for the study of the public and private life in the Rhine region. Another important contribution to the *DM* scholarship was Alexander Kaufmann's *Caesarius von Heisterbach, ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, published in 1850.[60] For Kaufman, the *DM* is the "The oldest and the most important book of the legends of the Rhine region".[61] This renewed interest in the *DM*, however, was not shared by everyone. In a review of Strange's edition printed in 1851 in the *Revue catholique*, we read:

> If Caesarius's dialogues can give a serious and impartial historian useful insights and necessary information to help him argue his point with

57 Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis,* vol. 3 (Leipzig: Moritz Georg Weidmann, 1722) cols. 80–81, here col. 80.

58 See other historical overviews proposed by Ludger Tewes, "Der *Dialogus miraculorum* des Caesarius von Heisterbach. Beobachtungen zum Gliederungs- und Werkcharakter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 79 (1997): 13–30; Horst Schneider's Introduction to *Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus miraculorum – Dialog über die Wunder*, (eds.) Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider, 5 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 9–97, here pp. 88–90.

59 Strange's edition was based only on four manuscripts and Zell's *editio princeps*.

60 Alexander Kaufmann, *Caesarius von Heisterbach, ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Heberle, 1850).

61 "das älteste und bedeutendste rheinische Sagenbuch": Kaufmann, *Caesarius von Heisterbach*, 30.

> absolute confidence, if it is important for science to have the correct text of the *Dialogues* as much as of any historical monument, we regret that such a book has been published in the company of such authors as St Augustine, St Aloysius Gonzaga, St Macarius and the models of asceticism without a word of disapproval or reservation, but with recommendations that can make justified doubt seem superfluous.[62]

Even though the *DM* remained the object of controversy, researchers often turned to it for information about the medieval social and cultural dynamic, the practices of everyday life and contemporary beliefs in the local context. In his entry for *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (1933), Karl Langosch provides a summary of the general opinion: "Caesarius's works are especially precious as historical sources, most importantly for the [history of] the Cistercian Order and its theology, but also for every aspect of contemporary life, so that it is possible to use them to paint a colourful picture of the deeds and actions of the people of the time; and last but not least, they [these books] are a source of knowledge about the feelings of the ordinary people."[63] This vision of the *DM* as a mirror of its time can be encountered in many scholarly works, including Mathilde Hain's 1950 study of the evidence of the local folklore in the *DM*[64] or Fritz Wagner's article about the life in medieval Rhine region, published in 1996.[65] Given the *DM*'s popularity as a source

62 "Si les dialogues de Césaire peuvent fournir à l'historien grave et impartial des révélations utiles, des éléments nécessaires pour exprimer ses jugements avec toute sûreté, s'il importe à la science d'avoir un texte vrai des *Dialogues* comme de tous les monuments historiques, nous regrettons de voir publié un tel livre, en compagnie d'un St. Augustin, d'un St. Louis de Gonzague, d'un St. Macaire, et des modèles de l'ascétisme sans un mot de blâme, sans une réserve, bien plus, avec des recommandations qui peuvent faire regarder une juste défiance comme superflue": *Revue catholique* 8 (1850–1851): 48–51, here p. 51.

63 "Von größtem Wert sind die Schriften des Caesarius als historische Quelle, besonders für den Zisterzienserorden und seine Theologie, aber auch für alle Bereiche des mal. Lebens, so daß man aus ihnen vom Tun und Treiben der damaligen Menschen bunte Bilder entworfen hat, nicht zuletzt auch für das Fühlen des einfachen Mannes": Karl Langosch, "Caesarius von Heisterbach," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933), cols. 344–370; 2nd edition 1978, cols. 1151–68. Here col. 1667.

64 Mathilde Hain, "Lebendige Volkssage im *Dialogus miraculorum* des Caesarius von Heisterbach," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 2 (1950): 130–40.

65 Fritz Wagner, "Caesarius von Heisterbach: Mittelalterliches Leben im Rheinland," *Cistercienser Chronik* 103 (1996): 55–63. See also Wagner, "Studien zu Caesarius von Heisterbach," 95: "Even though, as a devout Cistercian, Caesarius was rather biased in his stories in the interests of moral edification, he remains a living witness of the spiritual, cultural and political life of his time" ("Obwohl Caesarius die Geschichten als ordensfrommer

for local history, it is not surprising that one of the rare monographs dedicated to the *DM*, published in 1999 by Jaap van Moolenbroek, focuses on Caesarius's *exempla* that take place in the Low Countries.[66] Nevertheless, as McGuire demonstrates in his article for the present volume, the *DM* was not considered to be a serious source for historians still working within a positivist paradigm as late as in the 1970s.[67] Thus McGuire asks the delicate but essential question: "Can we believe Caesarius? Do his stories, with their abundant references to time, place, and source, reflect what really happened, or are they moralizations in which Caesarius carefully manipulates truth for his own purposes?"[68]

At the same time, with the advent of historical anthropology, the question of Caesarius's method of construction of the effect of the real was reformulated and the *DM* began to be especially appreciated as a source of information on medieval mentalities, and specifically beliefs and imagination of the medieval people. In 1975, Jacques Le Goff initiated a vast programme of research on the medieval *exempla.* Even though he was particularly interested in homiletic *exempla* of the mendicant brothers, he mentions the *DM* as the earliest collection that corresponds to his definition[69] because Caesarius was the first to systematically insert *exempla* in his sermons.[70] Thus the *DM* became the object of the research project dedicated to *exempla* conducted by the Group for the study of the historical anthropology of the medieval West (Groupe d'anthropologie historique de l'Occident médiéval, aka GAHOM) from its very foundation by Le Goff in 1978. Its importance for the GAHOM was underlined by the creation of the CEL database ("Caesarius of Heisterbach online/Césaire de Heisterbach en ligne") where an electronic edition of the *DM* is being published.[71]

Zisterzienser im Interesse der moralischen Belehrung tendenziös abfaßte, ist er dennoch ein vielsagender Zeuge des geistigen, kulturellen und politischen Lebens seiner Zeit").

66 Jaap van Moolenbroek, *Mirakels historisch: de exempels van Caesarius van Heisterbach over Nederland en Nederlanders* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999).

67 This attitude was part of the long-standing historiographical tradition that distinguished between 'noble' history (political history and the history of the important diplomatic, dynastic and military events) and the study of folklore and popular customs. See Jean-Claude Schmitt, "L'anthropologie historique de l'Occident médiéval. Un parcours," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* [*En ligne*] 06 (2010). URL: http://acrh.revues.org/1926. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

68 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 35 (1979): 227–82, here p. 228.

69 Bremond, Le Goff, Schmitt, *L'*Exemplum, 59.

70 Langosch, "Caesarius von Heisterbach," col. 1165.

71 URL: http://gahom.ehess.fr/index.php?721. Accessed 9 January, 2015. Other texts by Caesarius, for example, the *Libri VIII miraculorum* and the *Vita Engelberti* will soon be added to this database.

The *DM* represents particular interest for the study of the dissemination and reception of narrative material. Anton E. Schönbach's 1902–1909 book *Über Cæsarius von Heisterbach*[72] put Caesarius's stories in the context of the contemporary production of *exempla* (i.e. Jacques de Vitry, Stephen of Bourbon). As early as in 1927, in his book entitled *L'*Exemplum *dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge*[73] Jean-Thiébaut Welter gave a detailed overview of medieval *exempla* and pointed out that Caesarius was used as a source of *exempla* by a number of authors of later collections. Frederic Tubach's 1969 *Index exemplorum* indexed the *DM* and offered a tool for the research into the circulation of its narrative matter. Since it was sometimes difficult to identify the exact *exemplum* one needed among the 5200 tale-types provided by Tubach, the GAHOM devised *Tables critiques de l'Index exemplorum*[74] that provide references (occasionally corrected and amended) to the *Index exemplorum* for each *exempla* collection and according to the order of the collection. The ThEMA database (Thesaurus exemplorum Medii Aevi)[75] offers different search options (keywords, words from the summary, Tubach's number) that make it possible to establish the circulation of the *exempla* in different collections. The indexation of the ThEMA does not rely on the classic use of tale-types, narrative motifs or typical stories, but on the summaries that take into account narrative variants inherent in each collection. More recently, the GAHOM launched a new line of enquiry into the monastic, and especially Cistercian, *exempla*[76] with the aim of studying the strategies of persuasion and 'making believe' (*faire croire*) used in monastic circles.

From the 1970s onwards, research publications exploring different aspects of the medieval Christian anthropology expressed in the *DM* have become

72 Anton E. Schönbach, *Studien zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, bk. 1–3 *Über Caesarius von Heisterbach*, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 44:4, 159:4, and 163:1 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder., 1902, 1908, and 1909). See also Joseph Greven, "Kleinere Studien zu Cäsarius von Heisterbach," *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein 99* (1916): 1–11.

73 Welter, *L'*Exemplum, 112–8.

74 Frederick C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Folklore Fellows Communications 204 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1969). The work is completed in *Les* exempla *médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche, suivie des tables critiques de l'*Index exemplorum *de Frederic C. Tubach*, (eds.) Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Carcassonne: GARAE/Hesiode, 1992), esp. pp. 91–109 for the *DM* et pp. 113–118 for Caesarius's *Libri octo miraculorum*.

75 URL: http://gahom.ehess.fr/index.php?434. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

76 *Le tonnerre des exemples,* pt 2, *L'*exemplum *monastique, est-il bon à prêcher?* 103–288.

considerably more numerous;[77] the same is true for studies dedicated to the Cistercian Order that use Caesarius's works.[78] Nevertheless, we should not approach the *DM* solely as a documentary source, as it would represent a very limited vision of the text. As McGuire observes, certain researchers borrow information from the *DM* in order to support an argument without considering the collection in its entirety.[79] In the last fifteen years, studies, however, focus more and more on the *DM* as a whole, a work that, on the different levels of the text, reveals a complex structure and delivers a well though-out and coherent theological message. These are studies of Caesarius's authorial figure, his methods of work with oral and written sources, rhetorical aspects of the collection and also the *DM*'s manuscript tradition.[80] Nevertheless, McGuire's

77 Jacques Berlioz, "*Tuez-les tous. Dieu reconnaîtra les siens." Le massacre de Béziers et la croisade des Albigeois vus par Césaire de Heisterbach* (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 1994); Ivan G. Marcus, "Images of the Jews in the *Exempla* of Caesarius of Heisterbach," in *From Witness to Witchcraft. Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, (ed.) Jeremy Cohen, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 247–56; Ludwig Gompf, "Heilige und Reliquien bei Caesarius von Heisterbach," *Cistercienser Chronik* 104 (1997): 383–89; Volker Honemann, "Der heilige Jakobus im Werk des Cäsarius von Heisterbach," in *Jakobuskult im Rheinland*, (eds.) Robert Plötz and Peter Rückert (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2004), 187–95; Jean-Marie Sansterre, "La Vierge Marie et ses images chez Gautier de Coinci et Césaire de Heisterbach," *Viator* 41 (2010): 147–78; Marini Alfonso, "Immagini di donne negli *exempla* di Cesario di Heisterbach," in *Temi e immagini del Medio Evo. Alla memoria di Raoul Manselli da un gruppo di allievi*, (ed.) Edith Pásztor (Rome: Edizioni Studium, 1996), 9–84.

78 See, for example, Klaus Schreiner, "Caesarius von Heisterbach (1180–1240) und die Reform zisterziensischen Gemeinschaftsleben," in *Die niederrheinischen Zisterzienser im späten Mittelalter. Reformbemühungen, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, (ed.) Raymund Kottje (Cologne: Rheinland, 1992), 75–99; Jaap van Moolenbroek, "Caesarius von Heisterbach über Zisterzienserinnen," *Cîteaux* 41 (1990): 46–65 repr. in *Die niederrheinischen Zisterzienser im späten Mittelalter*, 101–19.

79 McGuire, "Written Sources," 228: "And yet when one looks more closely at the way Caesarius has recently been used, it is clear that many historians who know and like him only interest themselves in him because he provides just the tale that they need to illustrate or substantiate some point."

80 Tewes, "Der *Dialogus miraculorum*"; Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "L'émergence de l'auteur"; Marie Formarier, "*Sermo humilis*"; McGuire, "Written sources"; McGuire, "Oral sources". The last two articles are reprinted in McGuire, *Friendship and Faith: Cistercian Men, Women, and their Stories, 1100–1250* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Victoria Smirnova, "Actualization of the Past in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*," in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Lucie Doležalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 253–65; Smirnova, "Le *Dialogus miraculorum* de Césaire de Heisterbach: le dialogue comme axe d'écriture et de lecture," in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire du Moyen Âge*,

1979 observation that Caesarius is the most familiar yet a very little-known Cistercian author remains true until today.[81]

In the present collection of articles, the *DM* is studied as a coherent whole and the contributors aim to deepen the analysis of its narrative theology and its presumably simple, but in reality rather elaborate style, to demonstrate how this text, at once original and rooted in the Cistercian tradition, was used for the purposes of 'making believe' (*faire croire*). The studies presented here are based on the rich historiography and at the same time address new, previously unexplored, aspects of the *DM* and outline new directions for future research. For example, we insist that a researcher should not only look for the techniques of 'making believe' (*faire croire*) in Caesarius's text and its influence on the audiences in the Middle Ages but consider their impact on his or her own reading of the Cistercian's work.[82]

Caesarius as the Champion of Cistercian Persuasion

When we organised the conference where the papers published in this collection were first presented we wanted first and foremost to explore the nature of the Cistercian model of persuasion. We started by addressing the question of the existence of a particularly Cistercian brand of rhetoric that may have determined the strategies of 'making believe' (*faire croire*) used by the Order. We explored how the rhetorical tools are linked with a larger and more pragmatic concept of 'making believe' (*faire croire*) as part of spiritual conversations between the brothers (McGuire) and effective communication

(ed.) Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 2012), 195–218; Walter Cahn, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*," in *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, (eds.) Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2006), 283–95; Jana Nechutová, "Der 'Dialogus' des Caesarius von Heisterbach – 'perpetuum opus'. Zur Struktur des Ensembles von Exempeln *Dialogus miraculorum*," *Graecolatina Pragensia* 22 (2007): 235–44. Another important contribution is Horst Schneider's impressive Introduction to the German translation: *Dialogus miraculorum – Dialog über die Wunder* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 1: 9–97.

81 McGuire, "Written Sources," 127. A bibliography of critical publications dedicated to Caesarius's work is constantly being updated in the CEL database.

82 The enthusiastic reaction of our conference's audience to Caesarius's stories convinced us that the modern reception of the *DM* in a very specific social circle (that of the researchers used to a critical approach to texts) represents a fascinating object of research and needs to be studied in the future.

within and outside the Order (Turcan-Verkerk). In the case of the *exempla*, rhetoric aims, among other things, at producing mental images able to facilitate comprehension and memorisation of different points of the doctrine, at encouraging meditation and conversion (Formarier and Dehouve) but also at strengthening connections within the community and reinforcing the effect of the religious persuasion (Smirnova).

Bearing this double perspective in mind, the articles in the present volume study the ways in which Caesarius explores and develops the complex semiotics of representation in parables or *exempla* which Gregory the Great famously formulated as follows: "ex rerum [...] imaginibus pensamus merita causarum" (We arrive at a true understanding through images. *Dialogi*, IV, 38).[83] These mental images become even more powerful thanks to the dialogical form adopted by Caesarius, because they are reiterated, glossed upon and evaluated by the Monk and the Novice. There is no doubt that in choosing a dialogical framework for his *DM*, Caesarius was inspired by Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*. However, even though he uses Gregory's work as a source or as an authority to prove a point (for instance, in the discussion of the afterlife, *DM* XII, 13 or XII, 37), Caesarius never acknowledges the *Dialogi* as a model for the dialogical framework of his own collection. It should be pointed out that despite the immense popularity of Gregory's work few medieval authors of *exemplum* collections chose the dialogue as the main structural element for their works.[84] Apart from the *DM*, there was no other collection of *exempla* in dialogical form in the Cistercian *exemplum* tradition. Caesarius's choice to use the dialogical framework is presented as the author's own decision that allowed him to implement different narrative and rhetorical strategies. The dialogue form of the *DM* not only evokes the influence of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, it inscribes

83 English translation: Saint Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. Odo Zimmerman, Fathers of the Church 39 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press), 242.

84 Among rare examples one can cite hagiographical works such as Arnold of St Emmeram's *De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi* and the *Concio habita in synodo Beneventana* by St Victor III (both eleventh century). The reason for a more important presence of dialogical elements in *exemplum* collections from the twelfth century onwards is the assimilation of the oriental tradition; the most known example is the *Disciplina clericalis* by Peter Alfonsi, one could also mention the *Vita Barlaam et Josaphat* and the *Dolopathos* (a Latin version of the *Seven Sages of Rome*, written by the Cistercian monk Joannes de Alta Silva). On Gregorian dialogue, see Bruno Judic, "Le recueil fondateur : les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand," in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire*, 69–87. On medieval dialogue in general, see Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge 1200–1400. Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and von Moos, "Le dialogue latin au Moyen Âge."

Caesarius's work into the important tradition of Latin dialogical literature and makes it consistent with the expectations of the audience familiar with the conventions of this type of texts. The dialogical framework plays a fundamental hermeneutical role as it reveals, configures and organises the theological knowledge transmitted by the anecdotes rooted in everyday life, itself full of miracles and visions, particularly in monastic circles, but not exclusively, since laypeople frequently witnessed and experienced miracles too.

We asked ourselves whether we should consider the Cistercians with their large-scale 'storytelling' project to be the promoters of a narrative theology that, under the guise of a simple, spontaneous story in dialogue form, guides and orients reflection upon and reappropriation of the tales and concepts (Smirnova). Although the Cistercians were indebted to Gregory the Great's ideas about the role of the *exemplum* (as both an example to follow or to avoid and exemplary story), in the pedagogy of making believe (*faire croire*),[85] they seem, however, to have reinvented these ideas in their own fashion, in the same way they had reinvented the Benedictine monasticism. In both reinventions, charity, a key concept of Cistercian theology, plays a fundamental role. Charity, the very basis of Cistercian constitution bonds, becomes a driving force of Cistercian storytelling. It demands from the author to write in order to persuade others and from the audience to respond to this art of persuasion with belief. This is made clear in the following passage from Engelhard von Langheim's 1188 *Vita* of St Hildegund: "Eadem caritas persuasit, ut scriberem: persuadet et legentibus, ut adhibeant fidem et que honesta sunt horum dignaque imitatu, venerentur in aliis et exhibeant in se ipsis" (This same charity persuaded me to write, let it persuade the readers to believe, to venerate in others and show in themselves things that are virtuous and worthy of being imitated). In the case of the *DM*, this narrative theology could serve to educate novices, monks, priests and even laypeople as it was disseminated through preaching and translations.

The *DM*'s dissemination and more generally the use of the book and its place in the libraries of the Order and outside the Cistercian circles are studied by Turcan-Verkerk and Hlatky. Some Cistercian chroniclers such as Alberic of Trois-Fontaines read the *DM* mainly as a source of historical information (Mula), which could explain why Caesarius's collection did not have a specific place on the shelves of monastic libraries and could be classified either with sermons or with historical works. For example, the 1502 catalogue of Eberbach

85 See, for instance, Gregory's Gospel Homily 39, 10: "Ad amorem Dei et proximi plerumque corda audientium plus exempla quam verba excitant" (Toward the love of God and neighbour, *exempla* incite the hearts of listeners more than words).

Abbey lists the *DM* together with Bede the Venerable's *De gestis Anglorum*, Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and other similar works.[86]

Could the model which proved to be so effective in the *DM* be exported to other orders? The mendicant preachers (Arnold of Liège and Johannes Gobi studied by Brilli and Polo de Beaulieu respectively) used Cistercian stories for their own purposes. Which ones did they select? Which ones did they leave out? What did they do with these tales? How did Caesarius come to be viewed as an *auctoritas* whose works were worthy of being quoted?

What are the implications of translating the *DM* into German (Koroleva) or Dutch (Hlatky)? Which *exempla* of the *DM* were selected by the Jesuits in Mexico to be translated into the *nahuatl* language (Dehouve)? According to what selection criteria? How was this mass of narrative material reworked and placed in new contexts?

Finally, to bring a non-medievalist's perspective to the discussion of 'making believe' (*faire croire*) that is central to the present collection, Nathalie Luca contributed an analysis of a South Korean *exemplum* and Pierre-Antoine Fabre offered an anthropological point of view on the concepts used and developed in this interdisciplinary study based around the *DM*, and we would like to take this opportunity to thank them as well as all the other colleagues who contributed to the conference and to the publication of its proceedings.

By adopting a new and exciting approach to the material and focusing on the strategies of 'making believe' (*faire croire*) in their connection with the rhetorical efficiency of the exemplary tales at the heart of the Cistercian didactics, the authors of the papers presented in this book hope to demonstrate the pertinence of the *DM* for interdisciplinary studies and to inspire a new wave of interest in Caesarius's works.

86 Nigel F. Palmer, *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 1998), 254. By contrast, this inventory puts the *Exordium magnum cisterciense* in the section with monastic rules, lives of saints and theological works like the Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias* or Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*. Palmer, *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher,* 253.

PART 1

The Cistercian Art of 'Making Believe' (Faire Croire)

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CHAPTER 1

The Monk Who Loved To Listen: Trying to Understand Caesarius

Brian Patrick McGuire

For a number of years I lived with Caesarius of Heisterbach and his stories. Now I return to him after almost twenty years and am pleased that work on him and the broader *exemplum* tradition has become so central in medieval studies. In what follows, I will allow myself to look back and remember how it was to seek what I almost can call Caesarius's friendship. My major purpose in this paper, however, is not autobiography. It is to understand a medieval person who on the surface seems so transparent but whose layers of meaning provide a path to enter into the culture and mentalities of the medieval world. Caesarius clearly loved to listen to the wonderful stories told him by all kinds of people, and by listening to him we can better understand his person and the world that made him.

My Life with the Cistercians

When I first came to Denmark as an immigrant in the early 1970s, my former doctoral supervisor in Oxford, Sir Richard Southern, encouraged me to do something useful for my new country. He thought it would be a good idea to find a Danish medieval writer or writers who needed attention and to work on them. I looked at the well-known Saxo, whose *Gesta Danorum* is an important contribution to Danish medieval identity, but I found his narrative of warrior bishops and kings rather pretentious and militaristic. In a collection of medieval Latin sources published in the early years of the twentieth century, however, I found a chronicle about the foundation of a Cistercian house in central Jutland, Øm or *Cara Insula*, and its confrontation with the bishops of Århus in the thirteenth century.[1] Here I found medieval Cistercians and their

1 "Exordium monasterii Carae Insulae," in *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi*, (ed.) Martin Clarentius Gertz, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1970), 153–264.

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mentalities, in their faith in God's blessing on their project of establishing monasticism in a new area and defending what they had achieved.[2]

To make a long story short, I soon discovered that my contribution to Danish medieval history was not appreciated by my superiors. They were skeptical about my approach, for they looked at the sources in a classically positivistic manner, asking whether the monks were telling the truth, and not how the monks were telling their truths. The fruits of my research were not well received, and a later volume, on the Cistercians in Denmark, had to find a home in the United States, thanks to Cistercian Publications, after I was encouraged to withdraw it and not submit the study for a Danish doctoral thesis.[3]

These years in which I tried to integrate in a new culture were very much "a learning process," and in their course I realized that I had made a mistake in trying as an immigrant to tell Danish academics about their own medieval life and culture. I began to look far afield from the relatively meager Danish sources and came upon exciting new possibilities. In the early 1980s I discovered the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, and here I found stories about everyday life in the monasteries and an opening to the monks' world of beliefs, hopes and fears. What is only indirectly present in the Danish Cistercian chronicles was here to be gathered, the very fragments of which Caesarius speaks in the opening of his *DM*.[4] As one helpful American colleague, John Baldwin of Johns Hopkins University, said to me: I had been trying to grow my crop in a field full of stones, and now I could farm a much more fertile soil. Caesarius told me virtually everything about monastic life in the thirteenth century that I had always wanted to know but did not think I ever could discover! His stories especially touched on the monks' inner lives, their beliefs, doubts, fears and obsessions. Nothing seemed out of bounds in his narratives.

However much Caesarius gave me welcome insights into how monks conceived of their lives, saw this world, and anticipated the next, I found in scholarly circles a certain reserve towards him. My friend John Baldwin made use of him in his important work on Peter the Chanter but usually hedged his borrowings with statements such as "If we are to believe the report of Caesar

2 Brian Patrick McGuire, *Conflict and Continuity at Øm Abbey* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1976).

3 Brian Patrick McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark: Their Attitudes, Roles, and Functions in Medieval Society* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1982).

4 *DM* = *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi . . . Dialogus miraculorum*, (ed.) Josephus Strange (Cologne: Heberle, 1851; republished by Gress Press, Ridgewood NJ, 1966). I was able to purchase this reprint from Blackwell in Oxford for the princely sum of 4 pounds, a real treasure at a time in Denmark when it was difficult to make ends meet!

of Heisterbach. . . ."[5] Caesarius crops up in many presentations of medieval history, such as one by John Mundy: his stories are welcome illustrations to aspects of social and religious life of the period, but they were clearly taken with a grain of salt.[6]

My new bond with Caesarius helped me return in the spring of 1978 to the United States, for the first time in more than seven years. I attended the Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, Michigan. Here I found a group of Cistercian scholars – both lay persons and religious – who were devoted to understanding monasticism in its medieval and contemporary forms and especially the Cistercian way of life. I had discovered an academic and religious family where I was welcome, but I did notice a great deal of skepticism in response to my paper on Caesarius and "the Cistercians as medieval people."[7] I had been inspired by Eileen Power's outstanding portraits of medieval people, and I was convinced that Caesarius through his stories introduces to us a number of credible medieval monks, nuns, priests and even lay persons.[8]

There were only one or two questions or comments after my paper. One of them challenged the reliability of Caesarius: how can we believe the truth of what he was saying? For a moment I felt I had returned to my Danish colleagues and their positivism. Today the Cistercian Studies Conference at Kalamazoo rarely has papers on Caesarius, for there is perhaps still a general attitude that genuine Cistercian studies do best to concentrate on the great figures of the twelfth century, such as Bernard, William of St Thierry and perhaps Aelred of Rievaulx. Thanks to the regular contributions of Stefano Mula, however, the *exemplum* tradition is given some attention.[9] But I noticed that when James France submitted his work on the lay brothers, which recently was published,

5 John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle,* 2 vols. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), as in vol. 1, p. 31: ". . . if Caesar of Heisterbach's narrative can be trusted . . ."

6 John H. Mundy, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Longman, 1973), 17, characterizes the *DM* as "semi-historical, semi-fictional."

7 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Caesar of Heisterbach and the Cistercians as Medieval People," in *Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism*, (ed.) E. Rozanne Elder (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 81–108.

8 Eileen Power, *Medieval People* (London: Methuen & Co., 1924).

9 See Stefano Mula's paper in this collection. Also his "Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role Diffusion and Evolution," *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2019): 903–12.

some members of the Board of Cistercian Publications objected that he relied too heavily on *exemplum* materials and especially on Caesarius.[10]

I suppose there always will be medieval scholars who will denigrate the *exemplum* and especially Caesarius. He is too easy, too approachable, too generous with his information. For me, however, he opened the door to what the French call *l'imaginaire*, not just the world of the imagination, but all the hopes, dreams and self-conceptions of individuals and groups. I first saw this dimension in Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum cisterciense*, but Conrad is polemical and concerned with defending the Cistercian Order against outside attacks.[11] Caesarius was more relaxed and intended his work for internal consumption, inside Cistercian monasteries, even though as some of the contributions to this colloquium show, Caesarius's work later came to reach outside the monasteries and inspired or encouraged non-Cistercians.

It has been a blessing for French medieval studies to have had Jacques Le Goff as a source of inspiration. He did not have the hesitations about the *exemplum* genre that some of his colleagues may have felt, and over the years he has opened himself to a study that he in his younger years would have not allowed: the biography, whether it has been of St Louis or of Francis of Assisi. Le Goff's willingness to accept stories that present individuals in their social and religious contexts is an encouragement in an age when historical studies are in danger of being taken over by constructs of theory. In my mind what matters in history is people, how they lived, thought and felt about their lives, what their hopes and dreams were. Towards this goal the *exemplum* genre, especially as Caesarius made use of it, can take us a long way.

One final personal note before I give Caesarius himself the attention that he richly deserves. In coming to Kalamazoo in 1978 and experiencing living Cistercian monks and sisters, I discovered a new source for understanding medieval life and religion: contemporary Cistercians themselves.[12] I was invited to visit modern Trappist-Cistercian houses and here I was told stories about how they were founded and developed, how they coped with

10 James France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers 1120–1350* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 2012).

11 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Structure and consciousness in the Exordium Magnum Cisterciense: The Clairvaux Cistercians after Bernard," *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 30 (1979): 33–90.

12 See, for example, Brian Patrick McGuire, "Saint Bernard on the Cistercian Circuit," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46 (2011): 67–81. Also McGuire, "Cistercian Storytelling – A Living Tradition: Surprises in the World of Research," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 39 (2004): 281–309.

problematic brothers (or abbots), and how they developed various forms of work in order to support themselves. Some years ago at Our Lady of Guadalupe Abbey in Oregon I happened to arrive the day after the death of a former lay brother, who was laid out in a common area in front of my guest room. I was told stories about this brother, how he had arrived at the monastery because another house could not stand his difficult ways, and how he carried out his job of doing the brothers' laundry. Before he was buried, the monks of Guadalupe sat together one evening and told stories about this brother.

At this monastery and probably many others of the more than one hundred O.C.S.O. houses of the Trappist-Cistercians spread around the world, the telling of edifying stories brings monks and nuns together in a common life with shared concerns. Certainly their collective and individual prayers are central, but ever since monks and nuns in the 1960s were allowed to speak more freely with each other, it has become important for them to share their experiences and feelings through stories. In this sense contemporary Cistercians have in a remarkable way returned to the world of Caesarius and his stories. The experience of the past is not just past. It is being recycled, reshaped and renewed in the life of our times.

How to Understand Caesarius?

Is Caesarius all that simple and naïve as he is made out to be by some of his detractors? Certainly his Latin prose is easy to read, especially when compared with the turgid style of Conrad of Eberbach.[13] But behind the clear language there can be layers of meaning and innumerable influences. Victoria Smirnova has shown that Caesarius belongs to a tradition that goes back to Gregory the Great and even to the Desert Fathers, though he does not usually acknowledge his dependence on the latter.[14] But Caesarius usually shows at the opening of each of his *distinctiones* what he intends to do with his stories. Thus for the first distinction, on conversion to the monastic or religious life, he writes: "Cupiens loqui de conversione, illius gratiam invoco, qui loquitur pacem in plebem suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui convertuntur ad cor" (Desiring to speak of

13 *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*, (ed.) Bruno Griesser (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1961).

14 Victoria Smirnova, "Le *Dialogus miraculorum* de Césaire de Heisterbach: le dialogue comme axe d'écriture et de lecture," in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire du Moyen Âge*, (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 2012), 195–218. Also see supra, pp. 26–7.

conversion, I invoke the grace of him who speaks of peace for his people and on his saints and on those who are converted in their hearts). Caesarius has taken Psalm 84,9, which he and his brethren would have sung or recited in choir at Vigils on Thursdays, according to the Rule of St Benedict, but he has played with the phrase *convertuntur ad cor* (*DM* I, 1).

There is nothing theologically subtle about this play on words, but already here Caesarius has made clear what he would do with the forty-three chapters contained in the first distinction: he intended to describe the inner process by which people are turned to God. Their *conversio* is a manifestation of divine grace, which brings peace into the lives of the individual and the whole people of God.

Here and elsewhere in the *DM*, Caesarius avoids hidden meanings and subtle theories. His prose delivers both a story and an explanation. These are expressed in language that is wholly Caesarius's, in contrast with most of Conrad of Eberbach's stories which for the most part were taken from Herbert of Clairvaux and then given a rhetorical explanation or commentary. The result in the *Exordium Magnum* is never quite convincing, for story and moral can fail to merge, while in Caesarius there is greater integration. For anyone who seeks elegant theories to explain medieval thought or behavior, Caesarius may seem too obvious, but this is precisely the point: he does not seek to impress, only to demonstrate the presence of divine power in the lives of different types of people, but especially in the Cistercians.

Caesarius as He Reveals Himself

Caesarius has no hesitations about using the experiences of his own life to provide *exempla*. At various places in the *DM*, he reveals himself in situations that are meant to provide edification. Most memorable is the account of his conversion to the Cistercian Order (*DM* I, 17). "... Contigit me cum domino Gevardo abate de Monte sanctae Walburgis ire Coloniam" (It happened ... that I was with the lord Gevard abbot going to Cologne from Walberberg). Gevard did his best to encourage Caesarius to join the Order, but to no avail ("nec proficeret"). Then he told him of how "it is read" that Mary, St Ann her mother, and Mary Magdalen had come down from the mount above Clairvaux and had dried the sweat from the monks' brows while they were harvesting and flapped their sleeves to create a much-needed breeze. "Sermone huius visionis in tantum motus fui, ut abbati promitterem, me non venturum nisi ad eius domum gratia conversionis, si tamen Deus mihi inspiraret voluntatem" (I was so moved by the telling of this vision that I promised the abbot that I would come only to his

house for the sake of conversion, if God gave me the will to do so).[15] Caesarius first had to carry out a vow of pilgrimage to Rocamadour, but three months later "... post menses tres expleta, nullo amicorum meorum sciente, sola Dei misericordia me praeveniente et promovente" (without the knowledge of my friends but only with the mercy of God bringing and moving me), he came to Heisterbach. This chapter ends with the novice's comment, thus establishing the fact of a dialogue, "Non erit inutile his qui adhuc in saeculo sunt, exempli gratia talia audire" (It will not be useless for those who are still in the world to hear such things for the sake of an example). A similar conversion took place for Gerlac of Dinge, who is described in the next chapter (*DM* I, 18).

In older literature Caesarius is sometimes described as prior of Heisterbach, but this title is apparently a misunderstanding.[16] He was certainly novice master for some years and demonstrates his knowledge of novices' problems and insights, but he did not necessarily have this position all his monastic life. He was, however, novice master as late as 1221, as is indicated in a document from that year which mentions him in that function.[17]

There is no doubt that Gevard, second abbot of Heisterbach (1196–1209), made a strong impression on Caesarius, not only in his conversion to the Cistercians, but also in providing other edifying tales. He tells of Renier, who had been teacher (*scholasticus*) at the church of St Andrew in Cologne, whose school Caesarius probably had attended as a boy. Renier became a novice at Heisterbach but was troubled by various temptations and one day announced to abbot Gevard: "Non possum hic diutius manere, quia nec ordinem valeo diutius sustinere" (I cannot remain here longer, for I cannot bear the Order any longer: *DM* IV, 50). The abbot asked Renier where he intended to go, and he replied that he would go back to his prebend in Cologne. The abbot pretended to show severity ("quandam severitatem simulans") and began to cry out that he wanted Renier's feet to be cut off. "Credite mihi, magis volo vos sine

15 Mary is in Caesarius's stories a source of comfort and security and only rarely a threat. She could liberate a lay brother plagued by attacks of the devil, as Walter of Birbech, a monk of Himmerod (*DM* VII, 25). The brother was convinced to say the "Hail Mary" when the devil appeared.

16 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Friends and Tales in the Cloister. Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 167–247, here p. 173. Article reprinted in *Friendship and Faith: Cistercian Men, Women and their Stories, 1100–1250*. Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2002).

17 Falko Neininger, "Caesarius von Heisterbach in Walberberg," in *Arbor amoena comis. Festschrift zum 25 jährigen Bestehen des Mittellateinischen Seminars der Universität Bonn*, (ed.) Ewald Könsgen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), 207–18. I am grateful to Victoria Smirnova for this reference.

pedibus semper pascere, quam vos sinam abire et confundere domum nostrum" (Believe me, I prefer that you always be without feet than to let you go away and trouble our house). Renier got the message and smiled: "Melius est ut maneam" (It is better that I remain). Caesarius makes clear the point: words said jokingly ("per verba iocosa") brought to an end a rather harsh temptation ("tentatio satis dura").

Abbot Gevard reacted in a seemingly exaggerated manner to Renier's temptation to leave Heisterbach. Behind the excessive reaction were mutual understanding and humour. Thanks to a recent article of Eric Delaissé we have a study of laughter (and tears) in Cistercian accounts of the thirteenth century.[18] Even though the Rule of St Benedict is rather restrictive about laughter (ch. 54–55), it was allowed and even cultivated in the world that Caesarius inhabited.

Renier's brother was Godfred, who preceded him as *scholasticus* at the church of St Andrew in Cologne. As an old man, Godfred converted to the Cistercian Order, and Caesarius remarks that he spent time in the novice year with him ("Ego vero cum ipso in probatione fui," *DM* IV, 49). We can imagine the elderly Godfred and the young Caesarius, at most about 20 when he joined Heisterbach in the late 1190s. He records in detail Godfred's temptations: when he came to the end of his year of probation, the devil made him remember various disadvantages of living in the Order: the weight of the habit, long vigils, silence, heat in summer and cold in winter, regular fasts and limited food. "Et dixit mihi: Non putabam ordinem tantae esse districtionis. Usque ad hoc tempus aestimavi, quod minuti carnes comederent, et quod monachi sine cucullis suis dormirent. Poetnitet me huc venisse" (And he said to me [Caesarius]: 'I did not think the Order was so strict. Until this time I thought that monks who had been bled would eat meat and monks would sleep without their cowls. I am sorry that I came here).

We follow the discussion that took place between the youthful novice Caesarius and the older novice Godfred, who was tempted to return to a church where he had been pastor. In the end he remained at Heisterbach, for he came to realize that if he went back to the world, his fellow canons at St Andrew would make fun of him, as in Psalm 68, 13: "They spoke against me who were sitting at the gate."

This story is a wonderful evocation of Caesarius's own experience in becoming a monk and talking openly with other novices. Another narrative from his novice period concerns an anonymous monk who one day lay prostrate in

18 Eric Delaissé, "Des larmes et des rires dans le récit cistercien au XIII^e siècle," *Annales de l'Est* (2012): 189–98.

prayer before an altar. God gave him the grace of tears, so important in monastic life at this time, but then he had a bad thought: he wished someone else might see how he had been given this grace! At this point the devil appeared to him as a Benedictine monk ("in speciem nigri monachi," *DM* II, 22). But the monk realized with whom he was dealing and put the demon to flight by making the sign of the cross. The lesson is clear: when we pray, we are to follow the Lord's command to enter into a secret place and shut the door (Matt VI, 6).

Caesarius was apparently already collecting stories twenty years before he wrote them down in his *DM*. Another story from his probation year concerns Gerlac of Dinge, whose conversion also was a topic for conversation by Abbot Henry of Heisterbach when he was holding visitations of houses for the abbot of Clairvaux in Friesland (*DM* I, 18). It was Henry's habit, says Caesarius, to tell of wondrous things which happened in the Cistercian Order. In this case Gerlac considered entering the monastery but did not want his decision to be made public, so he pretended he was going to Paris to study. But after a time there he came to Heisterbach, "factusque novicius ad spirituale studium se convertit" (was made a novice and converted himself to spiritual studies).

The story is straightforward, but it reveals a great deal about Cistercian life and mentalities: first of all, Abbot Henry's trip; secondly, the fact that he took on for the abbot of Clairvaux the visitation of distant monasteries in the Clairvaux line; thirdly, the abbot's practice of telling edifying stories to knights at whose homes he would stay; fourthly, the story itself about Gerlac; fifthly, Caesarius's own knowledge of the same conversion story, which he got from Gerlac himself. Caesarius's willingness to provide specific background information for his stories sheds a great deal of light on how the Cistercian Order was functioning in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

Thanks to such stories, we learn how it was for Caesarius to be a novice and begin to collect stories that he later would write down. There is no space here to review other stories where he provides information about his life and thoughts, but it is clear that he made several trips outside Heisterbach and gained new stories from the contacts he acquired. Elsewhere I have shown how much Caesarius owed to Herman, from 1215 abbot of Marienstatt, a daughter house of Heisterbach.[19] Herman provided more stories than any other oral source in the DM, but Henry, abbot of Heisterbach from 1208, was also of great assistance. In the prologue to the *DM*, Caesarius made it clear that these two men had entrusted to him the task of writing: "abbatis mei imperium, nec non et abbatis Loci sanctae Mariae consilium" (on the command of my abbot and

19 McGuire, "Oral Sources," esp. pp. 171–82.

the advice also of the abbot of Marienstatt, *DM* Prologue): Henry had ordered him to do so, while Herman encouraged him.

We can be grateful that Caesarius did not limit himself to memories of people and events from inside the cloister. There are several accounts of people he knew before he entered, such as the dean of the church of St Andrew, Ensfrid (*DM* VI, 5), an unconventional figure who followed the gospel of simplicity and defied conventional rules of behavior in order to feed the hungry. He in fact stole from the kitchen of his own institution in order to help out the poor.

Caesarius's recollections are sharp, poignant and often humorous. I wonder what Bernard of Clairvaux would have thought of his observations, as when the author of the *DM* made fun of a knight who was terrified of lice (*DM* IV, 48). When a friend encouraged him to convert to the monastic life, the knight "respondit ille magnae pusillanimitatis verbum" (answered with a statement of great cowardice). He would happily come to the Order except for one thing: lice. His friend said to him (ironically), "Och fortem militem!" (O what a strong knight!). How could he be afraid of some little lice? By this provocation he succeeded in getting his friend to join. But the story has a continuation, where the fear of lice is again a central concern.

The key phrase here is "tam verbis quam exemplo illius provocatus" (being stimulated by both words and example, *DM* IV, 48). Word and example are here essential for making someone do what is right. Caesarius was constantly on the lookout for the right words and the best examples, and he usually seems to have found them.

Caesarius's Mode of Persuasion

"Gather the fragments so that they do not perish" is the point of departure for collecting materials for a dialogue on miracles. The words of John 6, 12 are buttressed by the fact that as novice master Caesarius had permission to speak with guests who came to the monastery on travels.[20] Certainly Heisterbach was well placed for such information: the abbots of North German houses, such as Loccum, would have stopped there as a convenient resting place on the way to or from the General Chapter. We find that Loccum is represented by a number of stories.[21]

20 McGuire, "Oral Sources," 225.

21 Such as *DM* VII, 17, 18, 19; XI, 19.

In Caesarius the General Chapter appears as a clearing house for stories. In standard histories of the Order, the proceedings at Cîteaux are usually seen in terms of the adaptation of legislation, while Caesarius shows how the abbots there exchanged edifying stories that they brought back with them not only to their own monasteries but to houses where they stopped on the way.[22] If we remember that the Chapter was meant to be a place for discussion and encouragement for abbots in their responsibilities, then it seems obvious that the Chapter would have provided opportunities for storytelling. It was just as today when academics meet for conferences and symposia: there is one reality in the formal proceedings of such events, another in the information and stories exchanged over coffee or meals.

Some stories seem to have been told to the assembled abbots at the General Chapter, while others were narrated by abbots on their travels.[23] The General Chapter even decreed in 1232 that when monks did tell stories "causa solatii" (for the sake of consolation), they should be "de verbis edificatoriis" (edifying in content), pertaining to the "salutem animarum, exclusis detractionibus, contentionibus et aliis vanitatibus" (salvation of souls, leaving out any detraction, disputes and other empty matters.)[24] There was clearly a fear that such storytelling might turn into gossip and backbiting, but at the same time the statute recognized the place of such narratives in the lives of the monks. It cannot be accidental that the provision was drawn up just a decade after Caesarius completed the *DM*: he clearly had success in his storytelling mission, and the Chapter accepted the place of the *exemplum* in monastic life, within clear limits.

Victoria Smirnova has pointed out that Caesarius did not suffice with the story alone: he combined the narrative with an argument or explanation in dialogue form.[25] The story is almost never by itself, for the didactic dimension is usually present and can at times take more space than the narrative itself. Was Caesarius's Novice a literary figure, a kind of collective abstract of all the novices that Caesarius had known or could imagine? I think not: years ago

22 Louis Lekai, *The Cistercians. Ideals and Reality* (Kent State, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977), 26–8.

23 *DM* XII, 37 and III, 24 told at the General Chapter, *DM* X, 4 told in travelling.

24 *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, (ed.) Josephus Maria Canivez, 8 vols. (Louvain: Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique 9, 1933–41), for the year 1232, vol. 2, 101 (nr. 5): "*. . . et de his quae pertinent ad salutem animarum, exclusis detractionibus, contentionibus et aliis vanitatibus*."

25 Smirnova, "Le *Dialogus miraculorum* de Césaire de Heisterbach," 211.

I found manuscripts where the Novice was given the name of Appollonius, a common name in a prominent Cologne family at the end of the twelfth century.[26] It seems possible that Caesarius had a specific youth in mind as the object of his dialogue, just as Anselm more than a century earlier had done with Osbern in his *Cur Deus homo*.

In dealing with this possible novice and other novices who would have been encouraged to listen to parts of his *DM*, Caesarius contributed to a living tradition with real people. He must have felt that just as he was brought to the Order by a vivid story that combined Cistercian hard work with consolation provided by Mary and her helpers, so too other stories would inspire men and women to enter the Order or keep them inside it. Caesarius's sunny disposition and fundamental optimism about human possibilities may seem superficial, but he represents a high point in Cistercian life, when the Order was being commended at the Fourth Lateran Council and the expansion of the Order seemed to be continuing. In point of fact, the great days were over, but Caesarius could not have known what was in the offing. For him there were always new stories to provide enlightenment and even laughter.

An Example of Caesarius's Approach

It is only appropriate that in the spirit of Caesarius with his love of stories we look at a block of them, in this case the first part of the fourth distinction, on temptation. *De tentatione* has more chapters than any other (103), and these are divided according to the seven capital sins, starting with pride. But first Caesarius has a covering chapter, defining temptation in the life of the religious. He begins with the Israelites leaving Egypt, which is defined as sin or the world, while the desert to which they came is like the monastery. There follows a discussion of how the sinner in leaving the world is converted, "corde pro peccatis suis contritus" (contrite in his heart for his sins: *DM* IV, 1). For the religious there will be temptation, but when they enter the monastic order, in abandoning grave sins, all they have to do is to maintain the requirements of their new life. This becomes their satisfaction for sin.

Caesarius then provides two examples as illustrations: Bernard, in accepting a certain French king into the Order, gave him as a penance after his confession only the requirement that he say the "Our Father": "Tu tantum hanc orationem dicito et ordinem custodi, et ego pro peccatis tuis rationem reddam in die iudicii" (Just say this prayer and keep to the Order and I will render account for

26 McGuire, "Oral Sources," 242.

your sins on the day of Judgment). Bernard was merely carrying out his duty as abbot according to the Rule of St Benedict (ch. 2), but Caesarius wanted to make the point that in entering the Cistercian Order and living according to the Rule and its statutes, the monk makes satisfaction for any past sins and avoids future ones, thus preparing for a heavenly reward. He then adds another story of Bernard (also to be found in the *Exordium magnum*)[27] about how he secured the release of a thief who was to be hung: "Da mihi eum et ego illum suspendam; ordinis districtionem suspendium appellans" ("Give him to me and I will hang him" Bernard is to have said, calling the strictness of the Order a hanging).

This discourse might seem far from the question of temptation, but Caesarius's point is that satisfaction for sin manifested in living the monastic life is a response to temptation. In the second chapter he reviews the seven capital sins, and the third introduces "pride and its daughters." The first example of pride deals with a lay brother at Himmerod, Liffard, who was supposed to care for the monastery's pigs (*DM* IV, 4). He began to consider his situation, "Quod est quod ago? Homo sum bene natus, sed propter hoc vile officium omnibus amicis meis despectus" (What am I to do? I am well-born but because of this low office I am looked down upon by all my friends). Liffard was tempted to leave the monastery, but the same night while he lay awake in his bed, he saw a venerable man who signaled that he was to follow him. He was led through the abbey church to the monastery, to the cemetery, where he was shown the decaying bodies and thus reminded that death was near. He forgot his temptation of pride and changed his attitude.

The story was told to Caesarius by Herman, then abbot of Himmerod, the same Herman who was a prime source for stories in the *DM*. The narrative traces a monastic journey through the buildings and out to the cemetery, in which Liffard is said to be amazed that doors that were supposed to be locked at night could be opened. Caesarius combines here actions of everyday life, as when Liffard gets out of bed and puts on his shoes, with ritual performance, as when he remembers to bow deeply in passing before the altar of John the Baptist.

The next chapter is much briefer, typical of Caesarius's style in varying the length of his chapters (*DM* IV, 5). It is about a man possessed by the devil who was brought by his friends to an unnamed Cistercian monastery so he could get help. They were met by the prior, together with a young monk who was highly respected as a virgin. The prior asked the demon whether he would leave if the young monk commanded him to do so. The demon answered,

27 *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*, distinctio 2, cap. 15, p. 109.

"Non eum timeo; superbus est enim" (I am not afraid of him, for he is arrogant!). Caesarius explains that the monk had allowed his bodily innocence to become a source of empty glory ("inanis gloriae"). He has made a common point in medieval praise of virginity: it must not lead to a sense of self-sufficiency and pride.

The subject of purity of life and pride of spirit leads to the third story (*DM* IV, 6), concerning Theobald at Heisterbach, who before his conversion was known for dedication to wine and gambling, and because of his wanton life became notorious all over Cologne. "Saepe illum nudum per plateas eiusdem civitatis incedere vidi" (I often saw him coming naked through the streets of the same city), comments Caesarius, clearly referring to a memory of his youth going back to the 1190s. But as in Caesarius's own case, Theobald was converted by abbot Gevard to the monastic life and became a novice at Heisterbach. Here he sought to do the kind of work that befitted humility, so he was given permission to do the wash. But after a few days of washing clothes, an arrow of pride ("sagitta superbiae") made him question this humble task. Theobald saw that the temptation had to come from the devil, so he did his best to do the laundry with all the more fervor. The devil refused to let him go and tried to frighten the youth, so that at night when he went to relieve nature, he was deceived by the devil into seeing two men who had been hung.

Caesarius continues in great detail. He has his information from Henry, the abbot of Heisterbach: "asserens se ab eius ore audivisse sub typo confessionis" (. . . asserting he had heard it from his [Theobald's] mouth under the seal of confession). The chapter ends with a story of another monk who obtained permission from his abbot to visit his relatives in France, whom he had not seen for twenty years. He remained absent from his monastery and died outside the Order. Here the devil's temptation triumphed.

Temptation occurs for everyone, also for St Bernard, who is described in the following chapter (*DM* 4, 7) as one day polishing his shoes. The devil cried out to him, "Vach, qualis abbas! Certe magis deceret illius honestatem hospitibus occurrere, quam ad confusionem fratrum suorum in calciis inungendis occupari" (Oh, what an abbot! Surely it would be more fitting to go out to the guests, rather than to be occupied, to the confusion of his brothers in polishing shoes). Bernard realized with whom he was dealing and kept at his humble task. Caesarius takes this story as a point of departure for recommending actions which disperse vain glory: "orare, cantare, praedicare, hisque similia" (to pray, to sing, to preach, and similar things). But in carrying out such functions, monks can be deceived by attitudes that deceive, as in preaching, where knowledge can puff up because of the eloquence or the depth of the sermon. Similarly in prayer, the grace of prayers and devotion of heart can bring pride.

This type of commentary is often ignored in studies of Caesarius, where the stories are the main object of concentration. But the moral lesson goes together with the individual story in order to clarify the meaning and purpose of telling the story. Caesarius shows talent in picking out stories that bring his point home. He succeeds in making Bernard of Clairvaux come alive as the abbot polishes his boots and defies the devil's provocation. This story is not to be found anywhere else, so far as I know, in the otherwise abundant Bernard literature. Almost seventy years after the saint's death, there was still a living oral tradition about Bernard on which Caesarius could draw. As he wrote in introducing his tale, "Quod dicturus sum, de sancto Bernardo gestum audivi, et quia nusquam scriptum inveni, scripto mandare dignum duxi" (What I am about to say, I heard happened to St Bernard, and because I never found it written down, I thought it worthwhile to convey it in writing).[28]

At the end of Chapter 7 we are only halfway through the chapters on the temptation of pride, but can already see Caesarius's method. At the end of each chapter he usually announces the subject for the coming chapter. Then he goes directly into the story, which is narrated without any intervention by the novice. Once the narrative is finished, the novice usually makes his comment and the monastic figure replies. One story can be added to another in the same chapter, but there is usually a central story, followed at times by a subordinate narrative. Caesarius wrote as if his procedure was quite natural, but it is a reflection of literary art more subtle than the surface of the text might seem to reveal.

Caesarius's Gift

As indicated above, Caesarius wrote his work when the Cistercian Order was at the peak of its spiritual prestige and material prosperity. He would have considered the foundation of a daughter house for Heisterbach at Marienstatt in 1215 to be an indication of God's blessing on the Order and the Clairvaux line from which Heisterbach came. His attention to nuns and holy women indicates assent to the fact that the Order in his time was openly acknowledging the acceptance of women's houses as members.[29] But soon after the time of

28 Already in the earliest hagiography of Bernard, the *Vita prima* (1.12.57), we find the devil trying to challenge Bernard and his responding in great humility. See *Patrologia Latina* 185, col. 258.

29 Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2011), 51–4.

Caesarius's death (usually placed at around 1240), the General Chapter made a momentous decision which indicated a sense of crisis. In 1245 it was decided to establish a Cistercian college in Paris and to send to it the brightest monks from each house.[30]

The Cistercians had come to think that in order to keep up with developments in the Church, they had to accept the scholastic discipline of the schools. Originally they had left behind this environment for the cloister, as in the case of Geoffrey of Auxerre, whom Bernard convinced to leave Paris for Clairvaux.[31] Now Clairvaux – as well as Heisterbach and other houses – was sending its brightest monks to Paris. There was some opposition to this change, as by the abbot of Villers in Brabant, where the old tradition must have been stronger than elsewhere. But the College of St Bernard was founded and funded, and so far as I can tell, the Cistercians were never the same.

One wonders what Caesarius would have thought of this development. With his generally optimistic disposition, he might have welcomed the opportunity for monks to gain new knowledge and insight. But the university environment by the 1250s was hostile to the world of stories that Caesarius loved. Certainly under Peter the Chanter in the last decades of the twelfth century there had been an appreciation of moral tales to encourage scholars, and the presence of the friars as preachers at Paris must have to some extent continued the use of story in order to illustrate sermons.[32] There is no doubt that the Dominicans and Franciscans would come to profit from Caesarius and the Cistercian heritage. But the Cistercians themselves abandoned the sources of their own spirituality. They became one more monastic order in the Church, worried about protecting their privileges, and caught up in disputes among the monasteries, most famously between Cîteaux and Clairvaux in the 1260s.[33]

It is easy to tell monastic history in terms of golden ages and periods of decline, and the Cistercians have been seen all too much in terms of the great age of St Bernard. Certainly Caesarius reveals energy, enthusiasm and renewal many years after Bernard's death. But it is clear that once the

30 Lekai, *Ideals and Reality*, 81–2.

31 The conversion of Geoffrey of Auxerre from Paris to Clairvaux is not found in the *Vita prima* but is narrated in the later *Vita tertia,* Book 3, ch. 9, in PL 185, cols. 527–28.

32 See Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*. See also Jussi Hanska, *'And the Rich Man also died, and he was buried in Hell': The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997).

33 Jean-Berthold Mahn, *L'Ordre Cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Ed. de Boccard, 1951), esp. Ch. 5, "La querelle de 1263–1265."

intellectually most capable monks were sent to Paris, the Order left behind its attachment to spiritual experience and insight. What mattered was the perfection of the scholastic form according to the strict methodology that Paris had developed. Caesarius's mode of argumentation lost its appeal, even though it is more than likely that in the monasteries, edifying stories continued to be told.

His work was, however, valued as late as the fifteenth century, as can be seen by the surviving manuscripts of the *DM* and in, of all people, Thomas à Kempis.[34] The exemplum has probably always been an integral part of monastic life, but Caesarius reshaped it in the dialogue form and used it as a mode of persuasion. At the same time the *exemplum* is a witness to the presence of monastic friendship, for it was told among brothers who trusted each other and shared their experiences.[35] It would be wrong to idealize the demands and requirements of monastic life, but for Caesarius the collecting of its fragments provided an opportunity to celebrate deep and rich human experiences.

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34 See Smirnova, "Le *Dialogus miraculorum* de Césaire de Heisterbach," 216–18 (Appendix 1).

35 McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 404–6.

PART 2

In Search of a Cistercian Rhetoric

CHAPTER 2

To What Extent Were the Twelfth-Century Cistercians Interested in Rhetorical Treatises?

Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk

Is it possible to talk about a specifically Cistercian rhetoric? To what extent were the first Cistercians interested in reading rhetorical treatises? These questions do not and cannot have a simple answer, but to begin to address them we need first of all to look into the intellectual education of the Cistercians. In the opening part of this article, I will focus on the extant twelfth-century inventories of Cistercian book collections, but I am not going to dwell on the question of the classical authors already explored by Birger Munk Olsen in his *Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ s.* and in his important 1984 article dedicated specifically to the use of the classical heritage by the Cistercians.[1] Leaving aside the classical works Benedictine monks and secular and regular canons employed when teaching their pupils, I intend, instead, to clarify the role the Cistercians may have played in the dissemination of a certain number of late eleventh – twelfth century *artes dictandi*, treatises on prosody, versification and the art of reading aloud. In this article, I will present the results of my research that have already been published or disseminated through my teaching at the École pratique des hautes études with the view of starting a dialogue with other researchers who focus on Cistercian texts, their subject matter, their style and their audience. My aim is to contribute material for reflexion on Caesarius of Heisterbach and the practice of writing and communication in the Cistercian Order, but my point of view will be an external one. This article will at the same time be on the margins of the topic of the collection and, I hope, contribute new material to the study of its subject.

1 Birger Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles,* 4 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 1982–2014); Munk Olsen, "The Cistercians and Classical Culture," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-âge grec et latin* 47, (1984), reprinted in Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Âge* (*IX^e^–XII^e^ siècle*). *Choix d'articles publié par des collègues à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1995), 95–131.

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The Cistercians' Training in Rhetoric and the Contents of the Cistercian Libraries

The inventories of monastic libraries group together books on grammar and rhetorical treatises. These books, used by masters who pursued their diverse interests, sometimes became teaching materials for children and adolescents. The books of this group, not, as rule, listed in a particular order,[2] are textbooks and literary texts corresponding, roughly speaking, to two levels of training. Psalters, sometimes saints' lives, poets whose works are relatively short and easy to understand (e.g., Cato, Avianus or Prosper) and Sallust were used to teach Latin language and for the first exercises in grammar and style that were also based on Donatus and his commentators. At a higher level, the pupils were initiated to the subtleties of the vocabulary and rhetoric (with the commentaries to longer and more daunting works, more often poetic than prosaic)[3] and to the practice of dialectics. In order to master rhetoric at the highest standard, the student needed to know the topic and be familiar with the rules of reasoning.[4] Between the ages of thirteen and eighteen to twenty, the young man was expected to write his first literary compositions, which progressively became longer, in prose and in verse. Two of the most important exercises were aimed at mastering the rhetorical techniques of ethopoeia and paraphrase. The student had to be able to compose on a given subject and to rewrite a prosaic text in verse and vice versa in the stylistic register adapted to the topic and the addressee, using appropriate figures of speech and thought. At this level, Donatus was no longer sufficiently complex, and even the *ars maior* had to be complemented by the 'rhetoricians,' the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium*, as well as collections of quotations from the *auctoritates* and works on applied rhetoric that started appearing at the end

2 For some preliminary remarks on the extent and meaning of this absence of order, see Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "La place de Grégoire le Grand dans les inventaires de bibliothèques antérieurs au XIII^{e} siècle," in *Gregorio Magno e le origini dell'Europa. Atti del Convegno internazionale Firenze, 13–17 maggio 2006*, (ed.) Claudio Leonardi, Millennio medievale 100 (Florence: SISMEL-Galluzzo, 2014), 355–96, and esp. p. 362.

3 Munk Olsen (*L'étude des auteurs classiques,* 4/2, 377ff.) puts into perspective this supposed 'program' of education. He demonstrates that to study all the works prescribed by it would be unrealistic and observes that the extant books that were in the possession of the masters are very irregularly and never completely annotated.

4 Contrary to what is often said, there are many lists of liberal arts where dialectics is mentioned before rhetoric and just after grammar. See Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, *Forme et réforme. Enjeux et perceptions de l'écriture latine en prose rimée* (*fin du X^{e} – début du XIII^{e} siècle*), the monograph in preparation based in part on my doctoral thesis (Paris, 1995).

of the eleventh century.[5] As is well-known, the Cistercians were not recruiting among children. In the twelfth century, they did not have a school and could only admit adolescents from the age of fifteen.[6]

Younger novices either had no education at all or were already trained to compose their first independent texts. The Cistercians could also admit adults fully trained by secular or regular masters, monks or canons. Among the men who joined the Order later in life were Bernard of Clairvaux who studied with the canons of St Vorles in Châtillon-sur-Seine between the ages of around eight and eighteen,[7] Geoffrey of Auxerre who followed Peter Abelard's classes before becoming a Cistercian,[8] and the historian Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay. We do not know where the latter received his education, in particular his training in classical authors, but it is clear that it was outside the Order; it is possible that he acquired his knowledge as he was doing his historical research.[9]

This is why, in the twelfth century, the Cistercian libraries did not stock neither the traditional arsenal of books for teaching that are often found in Benedictine monasteries, in cathedrals or collegiate churches;[10] which, of

5 The only major study dedicated to this topic is Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter. Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt,* Münchener Beiträge 5 (München, 1970).

6 According to the statute LXXVIII, published by Canivez under the year 1134. Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1116 ad Annum 1786* (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41) 1:31. The text is cited, among others, by Monique Peyrafort-Huin (*La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny* (*XII^e–XIX^e siècles*): *histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits* (Paris: CNRS, 2001), 96, note 127) in order to explain the almost complete absence of works on grammar in this rich collection.

7 For a summary, see Jacques Berlioz, *Un saint dans la ville. Bernard de Clairvaux à Châtillon-sur-Seine* (Précy-sous-Thil: Éd. de l'Armançon, 1998), 19ff. (about his studies, see esp. pp. 21–6). We can only imagine what this education was like because nothing is known about the school at St Vorles.

8 Cf. Geoffroy d'Auxerre, *Notes sur la vie et les miracles de saint Bernard,* (ed.) Raffaele Fassetta, Sources chrétiennes 548 (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 2011), 154–7 (*Fragm.* I, 44).

9 On Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay and on the partial discrepancies between his literary knowledge and the contents of the library at Vaux-de-Cernay as it is transmitted to us by the inventory from around 1170–1180, see, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria Albigensis,* (eds.) Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, vol. 3 (Paris: Champion, 1939), iii ff., esp. p. xxxvi.

10 For a well-documented study of the question of the absence of schools in Cistercian communities and on the *auctores* that could be found in their libraries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Thomas Falmagne, "Les Cisterciens et les nouvelles formes d'organisation des florilèges aux 12^e^ et 13^e^ siècles," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 55 (1997): 73–176, esp. pp. 95–104.

course, in no way means that the Cistercian authors were not familiar with these works.

Only two out of more than twenty extant twelfth-century inventories of book collections from Cistercian monasteries across Europe[11] have sections specifically dedicated to the materials used for the teaching of grammar and rhetoric (I do not include the inventory from Marienfeld Abbey which dates to the thirteenth century and not, as previously thought, to 1185). These are inventories from Rievaulx and Tremiti. In Tremiti, this fact can be explained by the history of the abbey that had belonged to the Benedictine Order and depended on Monte Cassino. It emancipated itself only in the thirteenth century when it joined the Cistercian Order. This means that the inventory in question belongs to the Benedictine period. In the Rievaulx catalogue, under "M" we find some books on law, medicine, grammar (e.g. *regule versificandi*, n° 160), rhetoric and dialectics as well as *florilegia*.[12] There were probably other books too, because Aelred of Rievaulx knew Cicero's *De amicitia* by heart.[13] Should the presence of such books, albeit in limited number, in Rievaulx be explained by the authority of this daughter-house of Clairvaux in England and/or Aelred's personal needs as a scholar? Interestingly enough, it is Stephen of Sawley, who was first a monk and then the abbot of the neighbouring Abbey of Fountains († 1252), who, several decades later, wrote about the reading practices of the Cistercian novices.[14]

It is possible that Rievaulx put more effort than other Cistercian houses in the education of its novices. In his first year in a monastery, a novice was introduced first of all to the rules of the Order and received spiritual instruction. Novices must also have been trained as scribes and, possibly, received additional training in Latin language. In the twelfth-century inventory of the Cistercian abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 209, f. 176v), we can distinguish the hands of several copyists, and sometimes the hand changes halfway through an item. Some of the scribes made mistakes because

11 The list of these collections, with essential bibliographical references (that are cited in footnotes in the abridged form) is to be found at the end of the present article.

12 (Ed.) Anselm Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana. A survey of the manuscripts, old catalogues, editions and studies concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx,* Instrumenta Patristica 2 (Steenbrugge: St. Peter's Abbey; The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962) (= (Ed.) David Bell, *CBMLC* 3), 166–67 (n° 151–64).

13 Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana*, 176.

14 Without, however, recommending texts on grammar and rhetoric, even though knowledge of these disciplines was necessary to implement the program of spiritual reading: (ed.) by Edmond Mikkers, "Un 'Speculum novitii' inédit d'Étienne de Salley," *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium reformatorum* 8 (1946): 17–68 (chap. 15 and 16, pp. 58–9).

they identified names or words wrongly (listening errors), others had difficulty staying within the dedicated space or following the ruling; these hands are very different from the hand of the librarian who is responsible for the whole of the first column and for part of the second. We can surmise that we are observing five monks in the process of learning the trade of a scribe under the guidance of the *custos librorum*, but they are still in need of improving their Latin and their knowledge of the texts. Moreover, we know that, at the end of the twelfth century, the Cistercians changed their practices and started managing their parishes and also preaching, which no doubt required a much more extensive training. Traces of these changes can be seen in the Lilienfield inventory that mentions Alain of Lille's *De arte predicandi* and also possibly in the Pontigny inventory that focuses, where rhetoric is concerned, on declamation. Here we can find Pseudo-Quintilian (Montpellier, BISM, H12, f. 180) and Seneca the Elder's *Suasoriae* (f. 180v, add.).[15] Whatever the Cistercians' attitude toward law, they had to arrange the affairs of the Order and sometimes defend their rights; therefore, they had to be able to write letters and documents. Finally, at least for some monks, it was important to be able to read aloud correctly. The Marienfeld inventory attests to the Cistercians' greater interest in learning and teaching in the thirteenth century which led them to open a college in Paris. This inventory mentions a number of texts on grammar, rhetoric, dialectics and even a textbook of translation from Greek into Latin.[16]

Since adults could join the Order after receiving a full education elsewhere, it is also possible that texts entered Cistercian collections as individual gifts.[17] Even though we have less evidence of this practice in Cistercian circles than among Benedictines and the canons, John Godard's gift to Newenham Abbey is an important example. In the first half of the thirteenth century, he presented his monastery with Cicero's *De amicitia* and *De senectute,* two works that also appeared in the library of the Pontigny Abbey after the compilation of its twelfth-century inventory.[18] As has been shown by Birger Munk Olsen, educated Cistercians knew classical works, including classical poetry,

15 Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny*, 276, n° [158] for the Pseudo-Quintilian (an otherwise rare text), and p. 281, n° [205-11] for Seneca the Rhetorician; comm. p. 89.

16 "De verbis grecis quomodo vertantur in latinum" (no commentary in the 2010 edition of the inventory. For the publication details, see Appendix to this article.).

17 Munk Olsen believes that it is possible that the *Disticha Catonis* found their way into the collections of Rielvaux and Marienfeld as gifts (*L'étude des auteurs classiques,* 4/2, 379 (quotation footnote 3)). On the Rievaulx and Marienfield collections, see *supra.*

18 Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny*, 89.

very well. They did not, however, cultivate their knowledge after joining the Order. The manuscript tradition of Seneca's works is the only one to have a 'Cistercian family,'[19] whereas some of the works of the Church Fathers also had a Cistercian manuscript tradition.[20]

It is essential to remember that the Cistercians' knowledge of rhetoric was primarily based on their reading of the Fathers and on their liturgical practice. The Cistercian authors' prose adorned with rimes and rhythms, parallelisms and oppositions with isosyllaby and parisosyllaby which gave it an almost hymnal style is grounded in the patristic tradition, in particular Augustinian

19 Jeannine Fohlen, "Les manuscrits cisterciens des *Epistulae ad Lucilium*," in *Du copiste au collectionneur. Mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet,* (eds.) Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest, Bibliologia 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 113–36. Other classical authors are more or less absent from the old inventories but it does not mean that they were unknown. See, for example, the enormous thirteenth-century anthology of poetic texts from Cîteaux: ms. Dijon, BM, 497 (288) (described by Colette Jeudy and Yves-François Riou, *Manuscrits classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1, *Agen-Evreux* (Paris: CNRS, 1989), 503–11), or the *Florilegium Angelicum*, presented by Nicolas of Montieramey to Adrien IV (Patricia Stirnemann and Dominique Poirel, "Nicolas de Montiéramey, Jean de Salisbury et deux florilèges d'auteurs antiques," *Revue d'histoire des textes,* n. s., 1 (2006): 173–88) that was widely disseminated in Cistercian circles, in the later period as 'spare parts' (on these *florilegia* and, more generally, on the Cistercians' interest in epistolary collections, see *Ennode de Pavie. Lettres,* (ed.) and trans. Stéphane Gioanni, vol. 1 *Livres I et II*, (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2006), clvii–clxxiv). Extracts not only from Jerome, Gregory the Great but also Seneca, Pliny the Younger, Sidonius Apollinarius, Ennodius and others can be found in the *Florilegium Angelicum.* Since manuscripts produced after the eleventh century have rarely been taken into account by the editors of classical (and even patristic) texts, the existence of Cistercian families of manuscripts is not as a rule demonstrated in critical editions, but it does not mean that they did not exist.

20 This is not rare. For example, there is a wealth of recent studies on the tradition of Ambrosius's treatises dedicated to the Patriarchs; these critical works also take into account Cistercian witnesses. Most recently: Camille Gerzaguet, "La *Collectio* ambrosienne de Florus de Lyon: sources d'une compilation et enjeux d'une méthode de travail," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 123, no. 2 (2011): 531–43 and Dominique Stutzmann, "Sept traités de saint Ambroise et leur diffusion dans les abbayes cisterciennes de Bourgogne et Champagne," dans *Mélanges cisterciens 2012, offerts par l'ARCCIS au père Placide Vernet, moine de Cîteaux, pour son 90e anniversaire*, Cahiers cisterciens. Des lieux et des temps 14 (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 2012), 417–35, and Dominique Stutzmann, "La collection ambrosienne du manuscrit Paris BnF lat. 1913: destins cisterciens," in *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes* (*XIIe–XVIIIe siècles*). Actes du colloque international de Troyes, 22–24 novembre 2012, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

homiletics, and the pedagogical style of Gregory the Great's *Moralia*. It is also influenced by the prose of the Victorines, omnipresent in the Cistercian book collections. In almost every library we find, along with a section dedicated to Bernard of Clairvaux, a group of texts by Hugh and Richard of St Victor. Because the texts of the Church Fathers and the Victorines were encountered every day, be it through personal or public reading, the latter to a large extent dependent on the effects of perception (auditory, sensory and musical) of the style, this tradition played a key role. One can go as far as to say that most monks read with their ears.[21] The influence of the practice of collective reading on the Cistercian literary production cannot be underestimated. It is in fact to this type of reading that the majority of the extant inventories testify, which explains why the Cistercians put so much emphasis on the auditory quality of the prose.

If treatises on classical rhetoric can only rarely be found in the ancient catalogues and appear relatively infrequently in the extant manuscripts, even in these 'standard' inventories we find other works that reveal a little more about the nature of the Cistercians' interest in the rhetorical tools. For example, the Altzelle Abbey list of books that were considered absolutely essential mentions a *libellum de dictaminibus.* The Zwettl Abbey library had a copy of Alberic of Monte Cassino's treaty on barbarianism (*De barbarismo*) which is in fact a textbook on figures of grammar. Another manuscript of this work, that is still extant today, was held at the Lilienfeld Abbey, and it is possible that yet another copy could be found at Marienfeld. At Rievaulx Abbey, along with treatises on grammar and rhetoric, we find a collection of set phrases "adaptable to all the affairs of the Holy Catholic Church," together with the extracts from Gregory the Great's *Registrum* "ornate dicta,"[22] In a later inventory from Marienfeld Abbey, we find two treatises of *dictamen*, one of which was in two books, the second one beginning like Henricus Francigena's *Aurea gemma*. This interest,

21 In the same way it can be said that they wrote, so to speak, with their mouths; I would like to point out the following passage from Master Seguinus: "Quod si quis vel corde vel tabulis vel codice quidlibet edicturus vel in populo legens vel sociis proloquens vel amicis referens, illud immorando, deliberando, habitum moderando, non voce asinina extonans, non scrofe more gurgitans, non voce vocem infugans, voce libera, voce firma, voce summissa quicquid illud serium aut ludicrum pronunciare addiscat." (*Magister Seguinus. Ars lectoria. Un art de lecture à haute voix du onzième siècle*, (eds.) Joseph Engels, C. H. Kneepkens, and Harry F. Reijnders (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 91). Be it in the situation of composition or of oral performance, the advice concerns pronunciation, voice and body.

22 Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana* (n° 159): "Congestio diversarum sententiarum diversis sancte catholice ecclesie causis congruentium et excerpta quedam de registro Gregorii ornate dicta in uno volumine."

at once relative and considerable, for the *dictamen*, can be compared to the interest of the monks of Pontigny Abbey in judicial eloquence.

The main question to be addressed here is: when and how did the Cistercians come into contact with this collection of rules of practical rhetoric that was developed in Italy from the 1080s onwards, first became very influential in Bologna in 1145 and was only disseminated outside the Apennine Peninsula after the middle of the twelfth century? How did the Cistercians come to be interested in these modern tools of communication?

Written Communication: the Cistercians' Role in the Dissemination of the *ars dictandi* on the other Side of the Alps (Chronology, Motivations, Methods)

In order to be able to understand this phenomenon of *translatio studii*, we need to bear in mind the distinction between the tradition of the *ars dictandi* and classical rhetoric as well as the routine exercises of *ethopoeia* and rewriting. To briefly summarise my research into the *ars dictandi* over the past several years, this tradition originated under the impetus of Gregory VII and his entourage not for the purposes of the teaching of rhetoric (since other teaching tools were already available) but to regulate communication inside Gregorian society. The *Mater ecclesia* was divided into two bodies, the secular and the clerical one, and organised according to a tripartite hierarchy copied on the Ciceronian hierarchy of levels of style: subdued, moderate and grand. However, by the mid-twelfth century, this tripartite structure was no longer as rigid. What was important was not so much the level of the social pyramid to which one belonged but the type of relationship that existed between the author of a letter and the addressee, whether it be a relationship of inferiority, equality or superiority. These theories elaborated in the first half of the twelfth century are presented in the most complete form in a text authored by Master Bernard, active between Bologna and Arezzo from around 1138 to around 1155. It has to be remembered that after a period when no works were dedicated to rhetoric, the 1120s ushered in the generation of Henricus Francigena and of the authors of the *Auree gemme* who progressively reintroduced rhetoric in the *artes dictandi* with the help of the two Ciceronian treatises on rhetoric. Bernard, influenced by the *Aurea gemma*, concludes this evolution by producing a complete treaty on the *ars dictandi* that considers prose, prosody and metrical verse and, finally, rhythmical poetry. For him, meter, rhythm and rime become an integral part of the ornate writing.

However, the question remains: how did these Italian works of the 1130s – 1140s cross the Alps, why and thanks to whom?

The influence of only one of the *Auree gemme*, the so called Berlin *Aurea gemma* (*AGB*), is discernible in the later works. For example, it is clear that the author of the *Aurea gemma gallica*, the first *ars dictandi* written in France, possibly in the early 1150s, either in the region of Tours or in the county of Champagne was familiar with the Berlin *Aurea gemma* as well as with Master Bernard's *summa*.[23] There are links between this *Aurea gemma gallica* and the version of Master Bernard's *summa* disseminated in France that contains a list of tools for the composition of privileges most certainly created in the Italian entourage of Pope Eugene III (who entered the Cistercian Order in the monastery of Clairvaux in 1138) during the pontiff's stay in France in 1147–1148 and updated for Pope Adrian IV around 1158.[24]

The so-called Berlin *Aurea gemma* reached us in one single complete manuscript (Berlin, SBPK, Phillipps 1732 (Rose 181)) that contains texts connected to the diocese of Sens in the 1140s (the manuscript itself, according to the evidence of the script, dates back to the last third of the twelfth century). This manuscript most certainly has links with the Cistercians. This becomes particularly apparent with a *florilegium* of Seneca, a small compilation on the penitence of Solomon attested in several Cistercian collections and the draft of Bernard of Clairvaux's Letter 189 on Abelard addressed to the Pope in 1141. In this manuscript, there is also a collection of letters from Sens containing a

23 The text was discovered by Franz Joseph Worstbrock, "Die Frühzeit der *Ars dictandi* in Frankreich," in *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, (eds.) Hagen Keller and Klaus Grubmüller, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 65 (München: Fink, 1992), 131–56 (n° 1, pp. 133–34; IV, pp. 140–46, p. 149–59); cf. Franz Joseph Worstbrock, "Aurea gemma Gallica," in *Repertorium der Artes dictandi des Mittelalters,* (eds.) Franz Joseph Worstbrock, Monika Klaes and Jutta Lütten, vol. 1. *Von den Anfängen bis zu 1200*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 66 (München: Fink, 1992), 119–22. (Ed.) and transl. Steven M. Wight in *Medieval Diplomatic and the 'Ars dictandi,'* (ed.) Steven M. Wight (Los Angeles and Pavia: Scrineum, University of Pavia). Available online on the website of *Scrineum* at the University of Pavia. URL: http://scrineum.unipv.it/wight/aggindx.htm. Accesed 9 January, 2015.

24 Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Le *Liber artis omnigenum dictaminum* de maître Bernard (vers 1145): états successifs et problèmes d'attribution (seconde partie)," *Revue d'histoire des textes,* n. s., 6 (2011): 261–328 (esp. pp. 282–311); the majority of the texts added to the supposedly French redaction of the treatise of Master Bernard are closely linked either to Tuscany or to the curia. See the summaries of the presentations of the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE) for 2012–2013 "Histoire de l'*ars dictandi*: les années 1150–1170," *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Sciences historiques et philologiques* 145, 2014 (2012–13), 138–42.

letter by Peter of St Jean de Sens to the bishop Hatton of Troyes harshly criticising the Cistercians and very pro-Cluniac, as well as Abelard's *Apologia universis* (two texts that were copied from the same source by the Cistercian Galand of Reigny in his great compendium transmitted by ms. Douai, BM, 532) and, finally, a recently reedited poem, an ironic dialogue between Vain Glory and a young monk by the name of Gaufridus. After having completed his studies and probably having listened to Parisian masters, Gaufridus has recently joined the Order and is shocked by the Cistercians' ignorance and lack of education: the irony operates an inversion of values and makes the text into a satire of the Cistercian order.

Manuscript Phillipps 1732 is not only one of the few manuscripts to contain Abelard's *Apologia universis*; it also has the only evidence of the preparatory and confidential version of Bernard's letter on this subject that Nicolas of Montieramey was entrusted to take to the pope and that only he could have in his possession (*Epist.* 189). This manuscript is in fact linked to Nicolas of Montieramey himself, who was a Benedictine monk, chaplain of the bishop Hatton of Troyes, to whom Bernard of Clairvaux assigned delicate missions; later, from the end of 1145 – beginning of 1146, he served as Bernard of Clairvaux's secretary. He may have been in charge of assembling the Sens collection that includes the documents from the Council of Sens that condemned Abelard's doctrine and later materials for the period up to 1145.[25]

Nicolas of Montieramey may have brought the Italian *Aurea gemma* to France when he joined the Clairvaux chancellery at the end of 1145 – beginning of 1146. He entered the Clairvaux chancellery just as the preaching of the Second Crusade was in full swing, which was the occasion of the composition of Bernard's encyclical in several versions, at least two of the ten of which can be attributed to Nicolas (but it is possible that all were composed under his direction).[26] The composition of the encyclical in several versions adapted to the status of the correspondent is typical – but it is certainly the first case on this scale – of the putting into practice of the *ars dictaminis*, which could explain at the same time why Bernard entrusted it to Nicolas and why he was interested in the Italian *Aurea gemma*. It is due to his proficiency in the matters

25 For more information, see Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "L'introduction de l'*ars dictaminis* en France. Nicolas of Montieramey, the professional of the *dictamen* between 1140 and 1158," in *Le* dictamen *dans tous ses états. Perspectives de recherche sur la théorie et la pratique de l'*ars dictaminis (*XI^e–XV^e siècles*), (eds.) Benoît Grévin and Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 63–98.

26 Jean Leclercq, "L'encyclique de saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade," *Revue bénédictine* 81 (1971): 282–308.

of the *dictamen* that he was received in Rome by the pope and his chancellor Rolando Bandinelli, future Pope Alexander III, between 1156 and 1158.[27]

To Adrian IV, as Dominique Poirel and Patricia Stirnemann have demonstrated, Nicolas presents a *florilegium* of classical and late antique epistolary texts known under the title of *Florilegium Angelicum*.[28] This *florilegium* corresponds to what Nicolas describes in one of his letters as a list of quotations that can be used depending on the circumstances in any type of correspondence.[29] This work, created or simply coordinated by Nicolas of Montieramey, would be relatively widely disseminated within the Cistercian Order. It represents another form of the *ars dictandi* that enjoyed a great success and that partially explains the presence of Seneca and his *florilegia* in the intellectual landscape of the Cistercians: like the *florilegium* of the manuscript Phillipps 1732, extracts from Seneca, in particular from the *De beneficiis* and the *Epistulae*, provided a wealth of proverbs, introductory passages and preambles. Seneca's works found their way even into the small libraries, for example that of the Abbey of Haute-Fontaine and its daughter abbeys or the Vaux-de-Cernay Abbey under a title that meant that they were not identified as their author's works by modern readers.[30]

The Cistercians' arsenal of rhetorical tools continued growing. In the second half of the twelfth century, we find Master Bernard's *summa* in the collection of the Abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay which joined the Order with the congregation of Savigny in 1147.[31] Seneca's *florilegia* were everywhere, but we have mentioned earlier a *florilegium* by Gregory the Great whose *Registrum* was considered very useful for constructing preambles. It is in the library of the Orval Abbey that we find one of the oldest collections of ready-made

27 The article cited in the previous footnote demonstrates this with the help of Nicolas's only unpublished letter from ms. Berlin, SBPK, Phillipps 1719 (Rose 184), f. 117v–118. Nicolas worked at the Curia with Rolando Bandinelli.

28 Cf. *supra,* reference in the note 17, and citation *infra,* note 42.

29 This point is developed in Turcan-Verkerk, "L'introduction de l'*ars dictaminis*," 88–9.

30 The n° [69] *Liber etiam 'cum sit in multis crimen'* corresponds to a *florilegium* of the *De beneficiis*, of which Munk Olsen knows three possibly French copies from mid-twelfth century; the description of these manuscripts points to the possibility that they may have been produced in the Cistercian milieu but I haven't had an opportunity to examine them myself yet. (Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins,* 2, 370. Seneca, incipit #9, cat. n° 42.5, 95, 252; see also the n° 165 [France, end of the twelfth century]).

31 Cf. Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Répertoire chronologique des théories de l'art d'écrire en prose (milieu du XI[e] s. – années 1230)," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 64 (2006): 193–239 (n° 28, n. 9, p. 207). Available online, URL: http://documents.irevues.inist.fr/handle/2042/51755. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

preambles, published some time ago by Jean Leclercq from ms. Luxembourg BNL 66, that is linked to Count Theobald of Champagne the Great († 1151).[32] Nicolas himself published his own letters with a view of making them into a reusable chancellery collection. When he left the service of Adrian IV he offered to the count of Champagne Henry the Liberal a collection of letters assembled at the Curia and classified in the decreasing hierarchical order of the addressees is a real *summa dictaminis.*[33] It is also at Orval that two years earlier Thomas Falmagne found a passage from Alberic of Monte Cassino from around 1200.[34] A book recently published by Pierre Petitmengin and François Bougard also revealed an important twelfth-century copy of the *Summa cognito* from Vauluisant.[35] Out of the 143 manuscripts in the volume dedicated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the *Repertorium der Artes dictandi*, Thomas Falmagne identified twenty eight manuscripts of Cistercian provenance, seventeen of Benedictine provenance, with all the other groups (cathedrals, Premonstratensians, Carthusians, other canons etc.) accounting for five or less each.[36]

In 1187–1190, a Cistercian from Pforta Abbey, mother-abbey of Altzelle, wrote an *ars* inspired by Master Bernard's treatise.[37] After the end of the twelfth century, the work, the Berlin *Aurea gemma*, continued to be used at Clairvaux. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the chancery at Clairvaux revised the *ars dictandi* by the papal notary Transmundus († ca. 1188) using material from Berlin *Aurea gemma*, Master Bernard's *Summa* and the *Ars dictandi aurelianensis* (now known in a single manuscript from Fürstenfeld Abbey). This second redaction of Transmundus's *Ars dictandi* enjoyed an enormous success among the Cistercians, the Benedictines, as well as in canonical and mendicant

32 (Ed.) Jean Leclercq, "Un formulaire de chancellerie de l'abbaye d'Orval," *Cîteaux,* 21 (1970): 300–2. I would like to thank Thomas Falmagne for letting me consult his complete description of the manuscript that he dates to the second half of the twelfth century.

33 Left unnoticed as a result of an error of transcription and later of interpretation. See Turcan-Verkerk, "L'introduction de l'*ars dictaminis* en France," 83–8.

34 Studied for the first time by Filippo Bognini, "Ancora sulla diffusione del '*Breviarium*' di Alberico di Montecassino: Trier, Bistumsarchiv, Abt. 95 Nr. 16; Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, 26," in *Le* dictamen *dans tous ses états*, 29–44.

35 François Bougard, Pierre Petitmengin with Patricia Stirnemann, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye cistercienne de Vauluisant. Histoire et inventaires,* Documents, études et répertoires 83 (Paris: CNRS, 2012), 179–83: descr. of ms. Metz, BM, 1232.

36 I would like to thank Thomas Falmagne for sharing his observations with me.

37 Incipit "Dictandi pericie": Worstbrock, "Dictandi peritiae," in *Repertorium der Artes Dictandi,* 129–30.

circles. The first 'bestseller' of the *ars dictandi* tradition in the thirteenth century ought to be considered as a Clairvaux production.[38]

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, several Cistercian *artes dictaminis* (some clearly identifiable as Clairvaux compositions) were created but remain unpublished today. I am thinking, in particular, of *De congrua situatione parcium dictaminis* from ms. Paris BnF lat. 11384 f. 93–225 (inc. "Quoniam de litterarum dictamine negocium presens agitur"), followed by a Cistercian collection of sample letters, a manuscript that, according to Anne Bondéelle, could possibly have come from the Fontenay Abbey.[39] E. Polak identified it in a fourteenth-century ms. London BL Add. 17724. We could also mention ms. Arras BM 539 (834) that, along with the extracts from the Berlin *Aurea gemma*, contains typically Cistercian thirteenth-century pieces linked to Clairvaux, that attest to the relationship with Heilsbronn and Bildhausen, affiliated to Morimond Abbey. This *ars* begins with an incipit "Attendendum est quod abbates nostri ordinis in salutacionis ordinacione nulli abbati sua nomina preponi paciuntur…" and was preserved in at least five mostly Cistercian manuscripts. The Oxford *Compendium rethorice*, ms. Bodl. Libr. lat. misc. f. 49 f. 2–47v, was produced in 1332 by a Cistercian in Paris. A survey of the *artes dictandi* composed before the end of the fourteenth century seems to confirm the Cistercians' lasting interest in copying as well as composing theoretical texts.[40] The Cistercian *ars dictandi* is an unexplored continent that appears to be extremely large, as Charles-Victor Langlois already suggested in 1897.[41]

38 Klaes, "Transmundus. Introductiones de arte dictandi," in *Repertorium der Artes dictandi,* 99–111 (in particular pp. 99–100).

39 Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques cisterciennes dans la France médiévale. Répertoire des abbayes d'hommes* (Paris: CNRS, 1991), 111.

40 Claudio Felisi and Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Les *artes dictandi* latines de la fin du XI^{e} à la fin du XIV^{e} siècle: un état des sources," in *Le* dictamen *dans tous ses états*, 417–541.

41 Cited by Stéphane Gioanni (*Ennode de Pavie. Lettres*, 1: clxii, note 764) who points out that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Ennodius is transmitted in the context of the teaching of the *ars dictaminis* and in the Cistercian circles. Gioanni connects the Cistercians' interest in Ennodius, seen as the defender of pontifical authority, to their relationship with the popes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (pp. clvii–clxv). For me, the larger context of the *ars dictandi* and the Cistercian milieu represents two spheres of transmission which are in fact one (demonstrated, in fact, by the presence at Rievaulx of Gioanni's A manuscript, that the scholar connects to the teaching of the *dictamen* and the different versions of the *Florilegium Angelicum,* described pp. clxxii–clxxiv), a phenomenon that certainly has multiple reasons and that, to my knowledge, has never been a subject of a study.

Oral Communication: The Cistercians and Versification, from Censorship to Distribution (Chronology, Motivations, Methods)

So far we have seen that the Cistercians were interested in rhetoric solely because it helped them express the hierarchical relationship between the abbot of Clairvaux and his correspondents. Versification, therefore, fell outside of the scope of their interest. Nicolas of Montieramey, who was a black monk, was well respected at Clairvaux thanks to his mastery of rhetoric and of classical sources, and the best place to acquire such knowledge was among the Benedictines. The *artes dictaminis* were used less for the study of rhetoric *per se* but served as a tool for analysing social relations and adapting the discourse, vocabulary and style to the subtleties of the political communication. The same letter could be written to several addressees with some changes introduced where and when necessary.[42]

I do, however, think that the Bolognese teaching on versification came to France at the same time as the teaching on styles. Master Bernard of Bologna, who had certainly received a musical training, used particular terminology for the *modi dictaminum* (types of *dictamen*) such as the words *maneries* or *maneria* which is one of the most important characteristics of his vocabulary. In the mid-1140s, this term was employed by Guido of Eu, theoretician of the plain chant at Clairvaux, in the sense of *modus*. The appropriation of this term that had not previously been used in musical theory is one of the distinguishing features of this treaty. The chronology suggests that different ideas from the Italian *ars dictaminis* were disseminated at the same time.[43]

What are the texts that had at first been neglected by the decision-makers at Clairvaux who were busy with the propagandist correspondence? These are a very elaborate treaty on prosody, a treaty on rimed hexameter that had until recently been considered to date back to the twelfth century and the first known treaty on lay rhythmical poetry that had been dated roughly to the same period with a series of rhetorical tools to be used in prose and in verse, combining Marbode of Rennes's *De ornamentis verborum* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, that form a whole with the treaty on prose traditionally considered to be Master Bernard's *summa*.[44]

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42 Nicolas of Montieramey clearly states this in the Preface to the *Florilegium Angelicum*: "ut semper ad manum habeas unde possis et personis et locis et temporibus aptare sermones . . .": 93–7.

43 For more information, see Turcan-Verkerk, "L'introduction de l'*ars dictaminis* en France."

44 The unity of this textual ensemble is demonstrated in Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Le *Liber artis omnigenum dictaminum* de maître Bernard (vers 1145): états successifs et problèmes d'attribution (première partie)," *Revue d'histoire des textes,* n. s., 5 (2010): 99–158.

The study of the manuscript tradition of Master Bernard's *summa* demonstrates that the first family of manuscripts outside the Apennine peninsula was produced exclusively in the German-speaking territories and originated in the Cistercian Abbey of Viktring in Carinthia. Viktring Abbey was no obscure Cistercian abbey far removed from all the circuits of text transmission. It served as a chancery for the bishops of Gurk and was very closely linked to the court of Champagne through the family of Carinthia, to which the mother of Count Henry the Liberal himself belonged. The abbey, founded in 1142 by Villers-Bettnach, had very close ties with the Cistercians in the duchy of Lorraine. It is possible that Baldwin of Viktring, the author of the first *ars dictandi* written in the German-speaking domain under the direct influence of Master Bernard's *Liber artis omnigenum dictaminum* was originally from Lorraine. Viktring was thus a part of the Cistercian and Champenois networks, the same networks to which Nicolas of Montieramey belonged. Did Baldwin get hold of Bernard's work through the Champenois Cistercians or via another, more direct route? It is probable that it was in his possession from the time of the propaganda operation of 1146 and in any case before 1160. What did he do with this textbook that he received in its complete form? First of all, he got rid of the treatise on rhythmical poetry, then he took away or changed the most erotic examples from the treatise on the rimed hexameter and, finally, he removed this treatise and the treatise on prosody from the *summa* altogether. In his own *Liber dictaminum*, Baldwin explained that Cistercian monks were not concerned with poetry. The same idea is expressed in the Prologue added to his redaction of the treatise of Master Bernard that underwent all the changes mentioned above; ironically, this Prologue is written in verse.[45]

The Viktring Cistercians did not reject poetry on professional but on ideological grounds. It seems that it is the first instance when a point of view on ornate prose was developed that aimed at getting rid of anything that speaks to the senses, of sensuality perceived as the antithesis of thought and spirituality. This same ideology is reflected, over the same period, in the repeated appeals to adopt a monochrome style in manuscript illumination (the style of the post-Bernard of Clairvaux era).[46]

Baldwin, however, was very concerned with the preservation of the treatises on versification that were copied on his request in a separate section

45 Turcan-Verkerk, "Le *Liber artis omnigenum dictaminum* (seconde partie)," 276–82.

46 On the sensual, feminine connotation of a certain *Kunstprosa*, see Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Le *prosimetrum* des *artes dictaminis* médiévales (XII^{e}–XIII^{e} s.)," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 61 (2003): 111–74 (p. 138ff., in particular pp. 141–43). Available online: http://documents.irevues.inist.fr/handle/2042/51672. Accessed 9 January, 2015. A more detailed version in Turcan-Verkerk, *Forme et réforme*.

of the manuscript also containing the *Aurea gemma gallica*. It is certain that Baldwin preserved a copy of the complete *summa* as well, since in Austria and in Germany there existed two separate manuscript traditions: the tradition of treatises on versification in the isolated state and of collections of treatises on prose and on verse. In particular, this is the case of an *ars dictandi* that went completely unnoticed by researchers, the version of ms. Munich BSB lat. 9684 that originated in Augsburg and was apparently produced by the Cistercians from Heilsbronn Abbey (1227–1241).[47] Paradoxically, Cistercian censorship contributed to the propagation of a tradition of the *ars dictaminis* that included metric and rhythmical poetry. The treatise on the rimed hexameter would acquire great popularity, especially among the monks of the Lilienfeld Abbey who were interested in the *ars dictandi* and already had Alberic of Monte Cassino's treatise on barbarianism in their collection. In the fourteenth century, Christian of Lilienfeld wrote a personal version of this treatise on the hexameter. This version was not copied or disseminated;[48] however, in its own way it represents, like the Clm 9684, an example of the dissemination of the *ars versificatoria* in Cistercian circles.

What were the reasons for this seemingly paradoxical dissemination? One of the key reasons, for me, is the Cistercians' preoccupation with the quality of the oral performance. The twelfth century was the heyday of the rimed and rhythmical prose that demands particular attention to the place of the stress. For example, the fashionable rhythmical *clausulae* were very useful for the understanding of a text transmitted orally because they underlined the syntax and the meaning. They cannot be heard if the stress is put on the wrong syllable, and in order to place the stress correctly one needed to know the number of the penultimate syllables. The prose, however, was not supposed to drift toward poetry and resemble a chant, the *cantilena* that the theorists condemned more and more often, especially in preaching.[49] The pronunciation of every single word but also of the whole sentence was extremely important. The tools created for the purpose of regulating correct pronunciation from the eleventh century onwards, the *artes lectoriae*, borrowed their method from the treatises on prosody composed by Alberic of Monte Cassino and

47 Felisi and Turcan-Verkerk, "Les *artes dictandi* latines," (the edition in preparation by Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk) n° 101.

48 Christianus Campililiensis. *Opera poetica*, (ed.) Walter Zechmeister, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis 19B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 2:467–520.

49 See, for example, Fabienne Gégou, "*Son, parole et lecture au Moyen Âge*," in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Âge offerts à Teruo Sato*, (ed.) Teruo Satō (Nagoya: Centre d'études médiévales et romanes, 1973), 35–40, and Turcan-Verkerk, "Le prosimetrum."

Theobald of Plaisance and subsequently popularised by Master Bernard of Bologna. I am thinking, in particular, of the method "*A ante B*" that makes it easy to find out the number of the initial, middle and final syllables.[50]

The Cistercians played a key role in the dissemination of the *artes lectoriae* that are much more closely linked to the *ars dictaminis* than is usually believed.[51] Aimeric of Gastine, a mysterious author who, according to his own claim, worked just a year before Master Seguinus in a location that researchers could not identify,[52] was so popular among the Cistercians that it makes me wonder whether his work was not produced in a Cistercian workshop. In particular, this impression seems to be confirmed by the manuscript tradition, especially by the Zwettl and Heilsbronn manuscripts.[53] Thomas Falmagne reminded me of the importance of the ms. Reims BM 431, f. 169ra–184va, that contains an anonymous *Ars lectoria* related to the one found in the mss. Troyes BM 518 and Luxembourg BNL 60 (from the St Bernard College, then Preuilly),

50 For the history of the method, see Jürgen Leonhardt, *Dimensio syllabarum. Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance. Mit einem ausführlichen Quellenverzeichnis bis zum Jahr 1600*, Hypomnemata 92 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989). This study needs to be revisited as Alberic's Bernardine posterity is not covered and neither are certain intermediate states (not to forget the Bernardine paternity of the method of *diminutio* for the analysis of prosody, on which, see Turcan-Verkerk, "Le Liber artis omnigenum dictaminum," first part (2010), in particular, pp. 142–44). Cf. also "La tradition des traités de versification latine aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques* 144, for the years 2011–2012 (2013): 102–7.

51 It is the case from the birth of the method "*A ante B*," if it does really go back to Alberic, the founder of the *ars dictaminis*, but also later in the works of Master Bernard and in the organisation of manuscript collections. We should also remember that Seguinus, who wrote only a little later than Alberic of Monte Cassino, dedicated a section of his work to the writing of letters: "Quisquis epistulam, hoc est brevem, bene vult fingere et latine loqui decentissime . . ." (Magister Seguinus, *Ars lectoria,* 91). Unlike Alberic, Seguinus advises to use clear and simple language; he does, however, recommend the use of diminutives and does not distinguish between the writing of verse and epistolary prose: "Diminutiva hec et cetera ad versus cudendos et ad sensus per brevem aut litteras exprimendos valent plurimum" (Magister Seguinus, *Ars lectoria,* 145).

52 Aimericus, *Ars lectoria,* (ed.) Harry F. Reijnders, in *Vivarium* 9 (1971): 119–37 (= pt. 1), and 10 (1972): 41–101 (= pt. 2), and 124–76 (= pt. 3). Aimeric is trying to pass himself for a predecessor of Seguinus (one year earlier: cf. the date provided p. 141; he alludes to Theobald of Plaisance: Aimericus, *Ars lectoria*: 3:136 and 167; his rules in "Omnis" (Aimericus, *Ars lectoria*: 1:127–28) and "Omnia" (Aimericus, *Ars lectoria*: 2:75–76), however, remind of Master Bernard's works but the exact relationship between the two works remains to be established).

53 See, in particular, Aimericus, *Ars lectoria*, 2:41–5.

the text being longer in this last one than in the first two. In 1951, Dom Leclercq drew the researchers' attention to the purely Cistercian *ars lectoria* in the ms. Troyes BM 518 dating back to the end of the twelfth century, originally from Clairvaux. In this manuscript, the *ars lectoria* is accompanied by Lambert of Pothières (O.S.B.)'s letter on reading aloud, probably written for Alberic of Cîteaux,[54] and by a treaty on Cistercian accentuation of words that enjoyed some success in the Order.[55] This Clairvaux collection is a vast *florilegium* that could certainly have been used not only for the writing of treaties on exegesis and theology, but also for drafting more everyday documents. Among other compositions, we find in it material for sermons and extracts from letters to Lucilius.[56] Jean Leclercq, who believes that "it is among the Cistercians that these witnesses [of the need for good accentuation] are the most numerous and the most explicit,"[57] cites numerous texts, and in particular one found in another twelfth-century Clairvaux ms., Montpellier BISM 322, folios 42r–v, 55r. The evidence of the *artes lectoriae* is complex: suffice it to remind the *ars lectoria* discovered by Vito Sivo in ms. Paris BnF lat. 8499 (from St Remi in Reims).[58] The study of these texts should be completely revisited in a much larger perspective to include treatises and prosodic *florilegia*,[59] as Sivo's work has demonstrated.

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54 PL 106, cols. 397–400, previously dated to the ninth century.

55 "Haec nomina secundum usum cisterciensium accentuata . . ." (f. 58r–6ov): see Jean Leclercq, "Textes cisterciens dans les bibliothèques d'Allemagne," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis,* 7, no. 1–2 (1951): 46–70. See *Textes sur l'accentuation*, pp. 64–70.

56 I would like to thank Thomas Falmagne for generously sharing with me his detailed description of this manuscript. This description will be published in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Clairvaux monastery (mentioned in the 1472 inventory) that is being prepared for publication by the Section Latine of the IRHT under the direction of Jean-Pierre Rothschild.

57 "c'est parmi les cisterciens que ces témoignages sont les plus nombreux et les plus explicites" (Leclercq, "Textes cisterciens dans les bibliothèques d'Allemagne," 67).

58 Vito Sivo, *Anonymi Ars lectoria e codice Parisino latino 8499* (Bari: Levante, 1990): [πίνακες], the author arrives at this conclusion on p. 38. All these eleventh-century and possibly twelfth-century *artes* could have descended from an earlier text. The older ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 7505 may be considered witness to this fact.

59 Prosodic *florilegia* are not absent from the Cistercian collections and it is through them that the knowledge of the classical poets is sometimes passed on. See, for example, the *Florilegium prosodiacum Florentino-Erlangense* present in Heilsbronn, an important location for the transmission of the *ars dictandi* (Munk Olsen, "The Cistercians and Classical Culture," 123 [cit. note 1]), the Saint-Omer *florilegia* BM 8 and 115 that originated in Clairmarais Abbey (Munk Olsen, "The Cistercians and Classical Culture," 119), or the

In fact, the place of prosody in the old, especially Cistercian, inventories has sometimes been undervalued because of the researchers' preconceptions about the grammatical and rhetorical culture of the Order. This is the case of Marienfeld Abbey, where there were numerous works on grammar and rhetoric, among which a collection beginning with Bede's *De arte metrica*, a treaty on barbarianism and grammatical figures (probably Alberic of Monte Cassino's treaty on barbarianism), a *summa de arte dictandi*. Another composite volume concluded by an unidentified text whose description was published as follows in 1848: "Regule quedam de productis et cor sitt." The 2010 editor expands the abbreviations in accordance with his conception of the Cistercian spirituality, and published this untranslatable title (what does "productis" mean here?) as "Regule quedam de productis et cor(dis) s(alvatione)" (p. 67, with no commentary)". Thus, in all evidence, "productis" and the abbreviation reproduced in 1848 should make us understand "Regule quedam de productis et correptis sillabis" (Some rules of long and short syllables). Marienfeld simply had a treaty on prosody that was a perfect addition to its collection.

As is well known, the theory of the *cursus* started with a short anonymous text composed in the 1180s (incipit "Quoniam in arte dictandi sicut in arte versificandi . . ."),[60] with an early version of Bernard of Meung's *Summa dictaminis*, but also with an abridged version of Transmundus's *Introductiones dictandi* and the Clairvaux redaction of this treaty.[61] It is important to stress that this theory attaches as much importance to the beginning of the sentence as to the *clausulae*; it is the rhythm of the whole period that is essential, in particular for the Cistercians. Versification is included in these treatises which appear to us rather daunting reading. Apart from its usefulness for the liturgy, the study of versification possibly represents a less arduous and more efficient way, compared to the *artes lectoriae*, to work on the phrasing and the accent in

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Florilegium sanctricrucianum (Heiligenkreuz, SB, 227: Munk Olsen, "The Cistercians and Classical Culture," 122–23).

60 In the ms. Zaragoza, BU, 225 (olim 41) (thirteenth century) f. 54, this text serves as an introduction to *Introductiones prosaici dictaminis* attributed to Master Bernard (Klaes, "Quoniam in arte dictandi," in *Repertorium der Artes dictandi,* 156–7).

61 (Ed.) Ann Dalzell, "The *Forma dictandi* Attributed to Albert of Morra and Related Texts," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 440–65 (text pp. 442–43, ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 2820 [end of the twelfth century] f. 58v; the edition is based on this manuscript as well as two other witnesses: Martin Camargo, "The *Libellus de Arte Dictandi Rhetorice* Attributed to Peter of Blois," *Speculum* 59 (1984): 16–41 [p. 21–22], reprinted in Camargo, *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 1006 (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2012); cf. Felisi and Turcan-Verkerk, "Les *artes dictandi* latines," n° 131 and 144 in particular.

order to render the wording at the same time exact and effective. It is certain that the Cistercians understood this already in the twelfth century, even if our knowledge of the sources, the state of the editions and our preconceived ideas may at times obscure this fact. In the second half of the thirteenth century, a Cistercian author Gutolf of Heiligenkreuz (active 1265–1300)[62] summarised this Cistercian attitude towards the techniques of writing. Gutolf, who composed in verse (he is probably the author of a metrical *Vita* of St Agnes) and prose, was a historian but he also penned a *summa de grammatica*, an *ars dictandi* and an *ars lectoria*. The *Summa dictaminis prosayci* is primarily inspired by Bernard of Bologna (B redaction), by the theory of the *cursus* associated with Transmundus and by Ludolf of Hildesheim and aimed at facilitating the drafting of letters and acts.[63] Gutolf's *ars lectoria* (*Opusculum Gotolfi de cognoscendis accentibus*) remains unedited.

Conclusion

In conclusion, what distinguishes the Cistercian rhetorical tradition is not the training in rhetoric, which most monks received prior to joining the Order, nor the art of the rhymed prose which goes back to the patristic and the Victorine traditions, but the fact that at a very early stage the Cistercians recognized the importance of and adopted the new tools regulating communication, developed in Italy and specifically at the pontifical chancellery. Very early on the Cistercians, especially at Clairvaux, grasped the social and political importance of the applied rhetoric that is the *ars dictandi.* When they first encountered the Bolognese *ars dictandi* in the form of Master Bernard's treatise composed around 1145, it contained teaching on versification. The complex attitude to this section can be gleaned from the manuscript tradition: the teaching on versification was excluded from some witnesses, but preserved and disseminated in others. Such an ambivalent position is, as a rule, typical of the Cistercians' atti-

62 Winfried Stelzer, "Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, (eds.) Wolfgang Stammler and Karl Langosch, vol. 3 (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1981), cols. 338–46.

63 (Ed.) Hermann Watzl, "Die Summa dictaminis prosayci des Codex 220 Sancrucensis, ein bisher unbekanntes Opus des Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz," *Jahrbuch für Landeskünde von Niederösterreich* 39 (1971/1973), reprinted in Watzl, *'… In loco, qui nunc ad sanctam crucem vocatur…': Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz* (Heiligenkreuz: Heiligenkreuzer Verlag, 1987), 487–515 (text pp. 489–501 of the reprint); cf. Felisi and Turcan-Verkerk, "Les *artes dictandi* latines," n° 38.

tude to literary culture. Clearly, they saw certain useful qualities in this instruction but also rejected it on ideological grounds. Furthermore, the Cistercians recognised the usefulness of the treatises on versification for the purpose of improving the practice of oral communication where communal reading or addressing audiences from outside of the Order was concerned. Following the rules of prosody guaranteed good pronunciation of Latin, correct accentuation and thus the effectiveness of the performance. I am convinced that the Cistercians, more than other communities, were invested in this tradition not only because they understood that making prose sound more like poetry allowed them, by a kind of saturation, to express what could not be spoken,[64] but most importantly because they knew that the music of the words makes communication of the deepest meanings possible.

64 I expressed this idea in Turcan-Verkerk, "Le prosimetrum," in particular p. 151 and n. 107.

Appendix

Inventories of the Cistercian Book Collections before the Thirteenth Century

BMF: *Bibliothèques médiévales de France* (BMF). Répertoire des catalogues, inventaires, listes diverses de manuscrits médiévaux (VIII^{e}–XVIII^{e} s.), under the direction of Monique Peyrafort-Huin, in the process of being published online on Libraria.fr from 2009.

BMMF: Genevois, Annie, Jean-François Genest, and Anne Chalandon (eds.). *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*. Paris: CNRS, 1987.

BMO: Munk Olsen, Birger. L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles. 4 vols. Documents, études et répertoires. Paris: CNRS, 1982–2014; in the article, BMO without other references refers to vol. 3, bk. 1, dedicated to medieval inventories.

CBMLC: Sharpe, Richard (ed.). *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*. London: The British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990–.

GOTTLIEB: Gottlieb, Theodor. *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890, reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1955.

MBKDS: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschands und der Schweiz*. München: Beck, 1918–.

MBKÖ: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*. 5 vols. Vienn-Cologne-Graz, 1915–71.

NEBBIAI: Nebbiai Dalla Guarda, Donatella. "Bibliothèques en Italie jusqu'au XIII^{e} siècle. Etat des sources et premières recherches." In *Libri, lettori e biblioteche dell'Italia medievale* (*secoli IX–XV*). *Fonti, testi, utilizzazione del libro. Atti della Tavola rotonda italo-francese* (*Roma 7–8 marzo 1997*). (Ed.) Giuseppe Lombardi. Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane – Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 64, 7–129. Rome: ICCU, Paris: CNRS, 2000.

RICABIM: *Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali*. (Eds.) Giovanni Fiesoli and Elena Somigli. Florence: SISMEL, 2009–.

Altzelle, Cistercian abbey, twelfth century. (BMO, 25–26. Date: twelfth-thirteenth centuries.) (Ed.) Ludwig Schmidt, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien in sächsischen Klöstern 1. Altzelle." *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,* 18 (1897): 209. Date around 1170. The document is damaged. Gerhard Karpp, "Bibliothek und Skriptorium der Zisterzienserabtei Altzelle." In *Altzelle. Zisterzienserabtei in Mitteldeutschland und Hauskloster der Wettiner.* Ed. Martina Schattkowsky and André Thieme, 193–233. Schriften zur sächsischen Landesgeschichte 3. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002. Reproduced p. 198, Abb. 2.

Istos libros contulit abbas de Porta et eius conventus . . .

Baumgartenberg, Cistercian abbey, twelfth or early thirteenth century (GOTTLIEB, n° 22; BMO, 25–26: date beginning of the thirteenth century.) Edited in MBKÖ 5, 15–18. Date: thirteenth century.

Isti sunt libri pertinentes ad armarium beate et gloriose semper virginis dei genitricis Marie in Boumgarten

Chaalis, Cistercian abbey, late twelfth century and later additions (GOTTLIEB, n° 267; BMMF n° 363; BMO, 67). (Ed.) Henry Martin. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.* Vol. 8, 440–45. Paris: Pion. 1899. New edition by Bondéelle-Souchier, Anne and Patricia Stirnemann. "Vers une reconstitution de la bibliothèque ancienne de l'abbaye de Chaalis: inventaires et manuscrits retrouvés." In *Parva pro magnis munera. Études de littérature latine tardo-antique et médiévale offertes à François Dolbeau par ses élèves*, (ed.) Monique Goullet, 9–73. Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia, 51. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009. Text pp. 33–42.

Hic continetur numerus librorum . . .

Cheminon, Cistercian abbey, around 1200 (GOTTLIEB, n° 426; BMMF n° 1917; BMF: URL: http://www.libraria.fr/fr/bmf/repertoire-bmf-%E2%80%94-cheminon-notre-dame-0-cist-h-1. Accesed 9 January, 2015.) Edited in: Delisle, Léopold, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* de *la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Vol. 2, 509–10. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1874. Identification and new edition by François Dolbeau, "Trois catalogues de bibliothèques médiévales restitués à des abbayes cisterciennes (Cheminon, Haute-Fontaine, Mortemer)." *Revue d'histoire des textes* 18 (1988): 82–8. New edition and commentaries: Turcan-Verkerk, Anne-Marie. *Les manuscrits de La Charité, Cheminon et Montier-en-Argonne. Collections cisterciennes et voies de transmission des textes* (*IX^e^–XIX^e^ siècles*), 75–81. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT 59. Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales, 10. Paris: CNRS, 2000. Reproduction: Pl. 13.

Libri sancte marie de . . .

Cheminon, Cistercian abbey, between 1203 and 1213 (GOTTLIEB n° 274; *BMMF* n° 397; BMO, 71; *BMF*: URL: http://www.libraria.fr/fr/bmf/repertoire-bmf-%E2%80%94-cheminon-notre-dame-0-cist-h-2. Accessed January 9, 2015) Edited in: Hérelle, Georges. "Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Vitry-le-François." *Société des sciences et arts de Vitry-le-François* 7 (1875–1876): 178–80. New edition and commentaries by Turcan-Verkerk, Anne-Marie. *Les manuscrits de La Charité, Cheminon et Montier-en-Argonne. Collections cisterciennes et voies de transmission des textes* (*IX^e^–XIX^e^ siècles*), 77–81. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT 59. Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales, 10. Paris: CNRS, 2000.

Nomina librorum . . .

Clairmarais, Cistercian Abbey, late twelfth century, thirteenth century additions. (BMMF n° 415; BMO, 73–74; BMF: URL: http://www.libraria.fr/fr/bmf/repertoire-bmf-%E2%80%94-clairmarais-notre-dame-o-cist-h-1. Accessed January 9, 2015). (Ed.) Laplane, Henri de. "Catalogue inédit de l'ancienne bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairmarais." *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie* 1 (1853–1854): 216–26 (first version based on one ms., with errors of interpretation). Laplane, Henri de, *L'abbaye de Clairmarais d'après ses archives.* Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie 11. Saint-Omer: Fleury-Lemaire, 1863. Text pp. 255–64 (second version, based at least on two mss.; with erroneous editorial interventions). (Ed.) Staats, Sarah, *L'inventaire médiéval de l'abbaye cistercienne de Clairmarais et ses manuscrits conservés.* Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT. Paris: CNRS, forthcoming (critical edition and commentaries, identification and description of the extant manuscripts).

Clairvaux, Cistercian Abbey, twelfth century, fragment (beginning) (BMMF n° 418; BMO, 74–75. Date: late twelfth century). (Eds.) André Vernet and Jean-François Genest. *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle.* Vol 1. *Catalogues et répertoires,* 349–56. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT. Paris: CNRS, 1979. Reproduction of the fol. 1: Pl. I.

Flaxley, Cistercian Abbey, thirteenth century. Edited in: CBMLC 3, 17–26, on p. 17. Date: end of the twelfth century – early thirteenth century, the roll itself dating back the mid-thirteenth century. Commentary on the structure pp. 15–16. Reproduction: Pl. 1.

Numerus librorum nostrorum

Haute-Fontaine, Cistercian Abbey, mid-twelfth century (GOTTLIEB n° 427; BMMF n° 1919; BMF: URL: http://www.libraria.fr/fr/bmf/repertoire-bmf-%E2%80%94-haute-fontaine-notre-dame-o-cist-h-1. Acessed 9 January, 2015.) Edited in Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits* de *la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Vol. 2, 510–11. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1874. Identification and edition: François Dolbeau, "Trois catalogues de bibliothèques médiévales restitués à des abbayes cisterciennes (Cheminon, Haute-Fontaine, Mortemer)." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 18 (1988): 91–93. New edition by Turcan-Verkerk, Anne-Marie. "La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Haute-Fontaine aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles: formation et dispersion d'un fonds cistercien." *Recherches augustiniennes* 25 (1991): 225–226, and, with modifications, Turcan-Verkerk, Anne-Marie. *Les manuscrits de La Charité, Cheminon et Montier-en-Argonne. Collections cisterciennes et voies de transmission des textes* (*IX^e^–XIX^e^ siècles*), 105–6. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT 59. Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales, 10. Paris: CNRS, 2000. Reproduction: Pl. 27.

Haute-Fontaine, Cistercian Abbey, late twelfth century (BMMF n° 713; BMF: URL: http://www.libraria.fr/fr/bmf/repertoire-bmf-%E2%80%94-haute-fontaine-notre-dame-0-cist-h-2. Accessed 9 January, 2015.) Edited in: Kohler, Charles. "Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Notre-Dame-de-Haute-Fontaine au diocèse de Châlons." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 50 (1889): 571–74. New edition by Turcan-Verkerk, Anne-Marie. "La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Haute-Fontaine aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles: formation et dispersion d'un fonds cistercien." *Recherches augustiniennes* 25 (1991): 226–229, and Turcan-Verkerk, Anne-Marie. *Les manuscrits de La Charité, Cheminon et Montier-en-Argonne. Collections cisterciennes et voies de transmission des textes* (*IX^e^–XIX^e^ siècles*), 106–9. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT 59. Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales, 10. Paris: CNRS, 2000. Reproduction: Pl. 28.

Libri . . .

Heiligenkreuz, Cistercian Abbey (between 1134 and 1147) (BMO, 123; MBKÖ 1, 19–21).

Isti sunt libri . . .

Lilienfeld, Cistercian Abbey, twelfth-thirteenth century (MBKÖ 1, 126–27).

Hi sunt libri . . .

Marienfeld, Cistercian Abbey, thirteenth century (and not 1185) (BMO, 153. Date: twelfth-thirteenth centuries) Edited in Naumann, Robert. *Kataloge mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken*. Vol. 1. "Katalog der Bibliothek des Klosters Marienfelde in Westphalen." *Serapeum. Zeitschrift für Bibliothekwissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Literatur* 9 (1848): 20–24. Date: thirteenth century. New edition by Degering, Hermann. "Der Katalog der Bibliothek des Klosters Marienfeld vom Jahre 1185." In *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen. Paul Schwenke zum 20. März 1913 gewidmet*. (Ed.) Adalbert Hortzschansky, 53–64. Berlin, Breslauer, 1913. Text pp. 57–64. Reproduction: Tafel 3 and Tafel 4. New edition by Kohl, Wilhelm. *Die Zisterzienserabtei Marienfeld*. Germania Sacra, Dritte Folge 2, Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln, 60–83. Das Bistum Münster, 11. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2010. Thirteenth-century catalogue; the provenance of the books is unknown; however, in the second half of the thirteenth century there was a rise in the number of manuscripts copied.

Hic notatur ordo librorum campi beate marie quorum singuli in singulis vel plures in uno volumine continentur.

Morimondo, Cistercian Abbey, soon after mid-twelfth century and completed in four stages before 1200 (BMO, 167; RICABIM, 2.1, 2011, Lombardia n° 459, 117–18). (Ed.) Leclercq, Jean. "Textes et manuscrits cisterciens dans des bibliothèques des Etats-Unis." *Traditio* 17 (1961): 176–181. Analysis: Ferrari, Mirella. "Lo scriptorium di Morimondo." In *Un'abbazia lombarda: Morimondo la sua storia e il suo messagio. Convegno*

celebrativo nel VII centenario del termine dei lavori della chiesa abbaziale 1296–1996. (Ed.) Giorgio Picasso, 103–11. Morimondo: Fondazione Abbatia sancte Marie de Morimundo, 1998. See esp. pp. 107–9. Reproduction: Fig. 1, on p. 165.

NOMINA LIBRORUM ÆCCLESIÆ SANCTE MARIE DE MORIMONDO

Newenham, Cistercian Abbey, gift of books by John Godard in 1246–1248. Edited in: CBMLC 3, 83–84; the same list is transmitted by two fourteenth-century manuscripts, a cartulary and a *memorandum*.

. . . contulit [2nd version : *dedit*] *huic monasterio*

Poblet, Cistercian Abbey, twelfth century (GOTTLIEB, n° 743; BMO, 186–87. Date: late twelfth century). (Ed.) Domínguez Bordona, Jesús. *El escritorio y la primitiva biblioteca de Santes Creus. Noticia para su estudio y catálogo de los manuscritos que de dicha procedencia se conservan.* Tarragona: Sugrañes, 1952. Text: 9, n. 1.

. . . comemoracio de libros [*sic*] . . .

Pontigny, Cistercian Abbey, twelfth century (first redaction between ca. 1165 and 1174) (GOTTLIEB n° 376; BMMF n° 1557; BMO, 189–90) Edited in: CGM 4, vol. 1, 697–717. Partial reproduction (f. 178) in: Nebbiai Dalla Guarda, Donatella. "Les inventaires des bibliothèques médiévales." In *Le livre au Moyen Âge*. (Ed.) Jean Glénisson. Paris: CNRS, 1988, 91; New edition by Peyrafort-Huin, Monique (with the collaboration of Patricia Stirnemann and a contribution of Jean-Luc Benoît). *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny* (*XII^e–XIX^e siècles*)*: histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits.* Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT 60. Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales, 11, Paris: CNRS, 2001. Text pp. 246–85 (Catalogue A). Complete reproduction: Pl. 1–11. Commentaries on the creation of the catalogue pp. 33–8, on the content pp. 79–99.

ANNOTATIO LIBRORVM PONTINIACENSIVM

Rievaulx, Cistercian abbey, twelfth-thirteenth centuries (GOTTLIEB, n° 498; BMO, 208–209). (Ed.) Anselm Hoste. *Bibliotheca Aelrediana. A Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx.* Instrumenta Patristica 2. Steenbrugge: St Peter's Abbey; The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962. Text pp. 149–70 and 170–5. Date: thirteenth century. CBMLC 3: 87–140. Date: 1190–1200. List 1: edited pp. 90–121 and partial reproduction: Pl. 3. List 2: edited pp. 121–37, partial reproduction: Pl. 4. The second list, as Hoste points out, is an abridged copy of the first. The two catalogues are divided into alphabetised sections (A to Q and A to O respectively); in the first list the sections are separated by blanks [cf. BMO 3/1, p. 208] + additions at the end of sections.

– First catalogue

HI SUNT LIBRI SANCTE MARIE RIEVALLENSIS

Santes Creus, Cistercian abbey, late twelfth century (BMO, 242). (Ed.) Domínguez Bordona, Jesús. *El escritorio y la primitiva biblioteca de Santes Creus. Noticia para su estudio y catálogo de los manuscritos que de dicha procedencia se conservan.* Tarragona: Sugrañes, 1952. Text pp. 15–6. Reproduction: Pl. II.

Hec sunt nomina librorum . . .

Schöntal, Cistercian abbey, late twelfth century (BMO, 243–44 – MBKDS 4/2, 938). A very short list of 9 items.

Heinricus sacerdos portavit secum . . . libellos.

Staffarda, Cistercian Abbey, last quarter of the twelfth century (BMO, 248; NEBBIAI, 85; RICABIM, 2.2, 2011, Piemonte n° 111, 28–29). (Ed.) Costanza Segre Montel. *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino.* Vol 1. *I manoscritti latini dal VII alla metà del XIII secolo.* Torino: Molfese, 1980. Introduction on the history of the library and the identification of the manuscripts: pp. 158–162. Text pp. 160–161. Segre Montel, Costanza. "Libri Sancte Marie Stapharrda." In *L'abbazia di Staffarda e l'irradiazione cistercense nel Piemonte meridionale. Atti del Convegno: Abbazia di Staffarda – Revello, 17–18 ott. 1998*. (Eds.) Rinaldo Comba and Grado G. Merlo, 155–70. Cuneo: Società per gli Studi Storici di Cuneo, 1999. Reproduction: Fig. a) at. p. 157. Date: after 1174, possibly before 1188 (see p. 158, note 9).

Libri sancte marie staphareda (or *stapharrda*)

Tremiti Santa Maria, Benedictine abbey, 1174–1179, under Abbot Eustathius, additions from the thirteenth century when the abbey joined the Cistercian Order (BMO, 259; NEBBIAI, 89) Cf. Armando Petrucci. "L'archivio e la biblioteca del monastero benedettino di Santa Maria di Tremiti (XI–XII secolo)." *Bullettino dell' "Archivio paleografico italiano,"* n. s., 2–3 (1956–1957), in memoria di Franco Bartoloni, pt. 2, 291–307 and pl. I, text pp. 306–7; the document is to be found at the end of ms. Napoli BN XIV A 30 (second half of the thirteenth century), a copy of the cartulary, and is part of a group of inventories: of relics, of the possessions of monasteries at the hands of usurpers, of books, of the treasure.

Hii sunt libri qui inventi sunt in hoc monasterio tempore Eustasii venerabilis abbatis. in primis tres Donati, tres Catones . . .

Vaux-de-Cernay (Les), Cistercian abbey, twelfth century (GOTTLIEB n° 410; BMMF n° 966; BMO, 263 [Seneca not identified]. Entry in the online database Bibale: URL: http://bibale.irht.cnrs.fr/php/f.php?t=22. Accessed 9 January, 2015.) (Ed.) Henry Martin. "Inventaire des biens et des livres de l'abbaye des Vaux-de-Cernay." *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 13 (1886): 39–42. Commentaries in: (Eds.) Guébin Pascal and Ernest Lyon. *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria Albigensis*. Vol. 3 (Paris: Champion, 1939). Commentaries pp. iii–v, in particular in notes.

. . . librorum suorum actores [sic] *nominatim cum titulis prenotando, ne forte oblivioni dentur, sollicite ac breviter capitula memorantes, numerum ipsorum notum esse volumus . . . Hec igitur sunt librorum nomina.*

Zwettl, Cistercian abbey, late twelfth century (GOTTLIEB, n° 224; BMO, 278–79 – MBKÖ 1, 511).

A list of St Augustine's work copied at the end of ms. Zwettl, SB 32, f. 346v.

Zwettl, Cistercian abbey, early thirteenth century (MBKÖ 1, 513–14).

Isti sunt libri pertinentes ad claustrum . . .

Zwettl, Cistercian abbey, early thirteenth century (MBKÖ 1, 515–16).

Hic continentur libri Augustini, qui habentur Zwetil.

CHAPTER 3

Caesarius of Heisterbach Following the Rules of Rhetoric (Or Not?)

Victoria Smirnova

Caesarius of Heisterbach repeatedly characterizes his own style as simple and his mastery of Latin as insufficient compared to those who are well-versed in both religious and secular matters.[1] Do these statements merely represent a humility *topos* or an honest self-evaluation? Indeed, the style of Caesarius's famous *exemplum* collection, the *Dialogus miraculorum* (*DM* henceforth), is often described by modern scholars as "brief, simple, and gentle"[2] (or, less flatteringly, as "flat-footed" and "boring").[3] A passage from Lore Wirth-Poelchau's article sums up most critics' opinions: "Caesarius's style is, in fact, simple: it wasn't meant to show off rhetorical skills, expressiveness or erudition. He chooses simple words and uses common expressions from the spoken Latin of the time: *se, sibi* instead of *eum, ei*; dependent clauses with *quod* instead of *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions; prepositions instead of oblique cases."[4]

Such assessment is not surprising given that medieval *exemplum* collections were not expected to be elegantly written and formally refined. On

1 I would like to thank Jean-Yves Tilliette for his comments and suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

2 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 35 (1979): 227–82, here p. 231.

3 Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (Feb., 1997): 1–27, here pp. 22 and 11.

4 Lore Wirth-Poelchau, "Caesarius von Heisterbach über Livland," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung: Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa* 31 (1982): 481–98, here p. 485: "Die Sprache des Caesarius ist in der Tat schlicht: kein Gepräge mit literarischen oder rhetorischen Fertigkeiten, keine Ausdrücke, die Gelehrsamkeit demonstrieren sollen. Er wählt einfache Wörter und verwendet die üblichen Formen des damaligen gesprochenen Lateins: *se*, *sibi* statt *eum*, *ei*; *quod*-Sätze statt AcI; Präpositionalausdrücke statt der obliquen Casus; etc." (Unless otherwise indicated, all translations into English are mine). It is worth metionning that such characteristics can be found in the writings of any medieval author, even those known for their sophisticated style, and they alone are not enough to demonstrate the 'rusticality' of Caesarius's style.

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the contrary, since they were meant for reuse by a preacher or a master of novices, they had to be simple enough to be understood by an 'unlearned' audience. *Exempla*, as has been pointed out by many scholars, do not belong to the realm of literature.[5] Both Claude Bremond and Claude Cazalé-Bérard answer 'no' to the question they pose in the titles of their articles: "Is the *exemplum* a literary genre?"[6] *Exemplum*, concludes Bremond, is a form of extra-literary message, didactic and narrative,[7] or – more poetically put – a common grave where the remains of different genres both literary and non-literary are buried.[8] *Exempla*'s lack of literary qualities is often discussed in terms of stylistics and also in terms of aesthetic response (whether the text produces an aesthetic effect on the reader/listener). For example, Cazalé-Bérard considers the "emergence of stylistic procedures characteristic of the domain of poetry" as one of the features of the transition from *exemplum* to *novella*.[9] In short, as preacher's tools whose efficiency does not appear to depend on the beauty of the language, *exempla* are often seen to belong to what Roland Barthes calls the 'zero degree' of writing, that is a neutral, colorless, transparent kind of writing devoid of all ornament. Many Christian (and especially monastic) authors' disdain for rhetorical artifice and their praise of the *sermo humilis*,[10] or humble style, close to the *sermo cotidianus* that rejects conscious use of rhetorical conventions in order to be accessible to all, can reinforce the point of view that authors such as Caesarius wrote in the 'humble speech' tradition. In his *Rhetorica divina*, William of Auvergne summarizes the discussion of the simplicity of style in terms of its effectiveness: "The more simple and

5 See, for exemple, Jacques Berlioz, "Le récit efficace: l'*exemplum* au service de la prédication (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)," in *Rhétorique et histoire. L'*exemplum *et le modèle de comportement dans le discours antique et médiéval. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole française de Rome* (*Rome, 18 mai 1979*), (ed.) Jean Michel David, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge-Temps modernes 92/1 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1980), 113–44.

6 Claude Bremond, "L'*exemplum* médiéval est-il un genre littéraire? *Exemplum* et littérarité," in *Les* exempla *médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, (eds.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu and Jacques Berlioz (Paris: Champion, 1998), 21–28; Claude Cazalé-Bérard, "L'*exemplum* médiéval est-il un genre littéraire? L'*exemplum* et la nouvelle," in *Les* exempla *médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, 29–42.

7 Bremond, "L'*exemplum* médiéval," 28.

8 Bremond, "L'*exemplum* médiéval," 24.

9 Cazalé-Bérard, "L'*exemplum* médiéval," 31.

10 On *sermo humilis*, see Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 25–66.

unadorned the sermon is, the more it moves and edifies."[11] One could ask if the effectiveness of Cistercian persuasion by means of *exempla*, indicated by the number of medieval manuscripts of the *DM*, was not the result of this apparent non-literariness, that is to say, of the minimum level of *defamiliarisation* the text confronted its audience with. *Defamiliarisation* is an artistic technique that formalist critics saw as the defining quality of literariness. It consists in making objects 'unfamiliar,' in increasing the difficulty of perception and also the time and effort needed to understand and appreciate a work of art.[12] Does this lack of 'elaboration' (to use Aron Gurevitch's term)[13] characteristic of *exempla* facilitate the diffusion of the Cistercian message by making it as straightforward as possible (even if the content of the stories could become unfamiliar and strange with the time passing and audiences changing)[14] and, at the same time, by maintaining Caesarius's auctorial posture as an honest narrator of facts who did not invent anything in his stories,[15] since literariness is often associated with the fictionality of discourse?[16] Indeed, nineteenth-century critics accused Caesarius of excessive naivety and credulity[17] rather than of making up stories to promote the interests of his community.

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11 Cited by Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," *Classical Philology* 28, no. 2, (Apr. 1933): 73–96. Here p. 84.

12 Viktor Shklovsky, "Art as Technique," in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, (eds.) and trans. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 3–24. Here p. 16.

13 Aron Gurevitch, *Культура и общество средневековой Европы глазами современников*: Exempla *XIII века* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1989), 74.

14 The Cistercian world appeared as exotic to the friars' audiences, see Jacques Berlioz's conclusion to his article "Du monastère à la place publique. Les *exempla* cisterciens chez Étienne de Bourbon († v. 1261)," in *Le tonnerre des exemples.* Exempla *et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, (eds.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Pascal Collomb and Jacques Berlioz (Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 256: "For the potential audience, the Cistercian world is an external world, even a foreign one, but it is exotic and colourful" ("Le monde cistercien est pour les auditeurs potentiels un monde extérieur, voire étranger, mais exotique et spectaculaire").

15 "Testis est mihi Dominus, nec unum quidem capitulum in hoc Dialogo me finxisse" ("God be the witness I did not fabricate a single chapter in this Dialogue," *DM* Prologue).

16 For the discussion of the problem of conflation of literariness and fictionality, see Ruth Ronnen, *Possible Worlds in Literary Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 79–82.

17 See, for exemple, Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, *Mémoire sur le sac de Beziers dans la guerre des Albigeois et sur le mot:* tuez le tous! *attribué au légat du pape Innocent III*, vol. 6 of Annales de philosophie chrétienne 5e série (Paris: Durand, 1862), 20–1: "To conclude, the author of the *De miraculis* exhibits a level of credulity so extraordinary, even for a

At the same time, the preoccupation of the compilers of *exemplum* collections with the discursive efficiency of their stories can be observed in the prologues to their works.[18] Even if we accept the *exemplum* not to be part of literature, as an 'effective narrative' (*récit efficace*)[19] it necessarily uses rhetorical devices (and medieval rhetoric and poetics share the same tools)[20] to achieve its diverse pragmatic goals.[21] *Exemplum* itself is a rhetorical device close to enthymematic argument, as ancient rhetoric teaches and modern scholars point out.[22] In his article on rhetorical *exempla*, Jean-Yves Tilliette

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medieval German, that no sensible man can trust him even a little bit" ("En résumé, le *De miraculis* atteste chez son auteur une dose de crédulité tellement extraordinaire, même pour un Allemand du moyen âge, qu'aucun homme de bon sens ne peut lui accorder la moindre confiance"). On Caesarius's methods of work in this particular case, see Jacques Berlioz, *'Tuez-les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens'. La croisade contre les Albigeois vue par Césaire de Heisterbach* (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 1994).

18 Jacques Berlioz, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Les prologues des recueils d'*exempla*," in *Les prologues médiévaux. Actes du Colloque international organisé par l'Academia Belgica et l'École française de Rome avec le concours de la F.I.D.E.M. (Rome, 26–28 mars 1998)*, (ed.) Jacqueline Hamesse, Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales. Textes et études du Moyen Âge 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 275–321.

19 Berlioz, "Le récit efficace."

20 As Jean-Yves Tilliette points out in his book *Des mots à la Parole: une lecture de la* Poetria nova *de Geoffroy de Vinsauf* (Genève: Droz, 2000), 29–30: "In any case, it follows that at the beginning of the thirteenth century, all literary composition, in prose as in verse, is perceived as subject to the empire of rhetoric <…> To attribute, according to modern categorisation, the former to argumentation and the latter to ornamentation would have something forced about it; after all, it is rather natural that a speech that aims at convincing by the means of *inventio* also tries to please with those of *elocutio*" ("Il ressort en tous cas qu'au début du XIII^{e} siècle, toute composition littéraire, en prose comme en vers, est perçue comme soumise à l'empire de la rhétorique <…> Rapporter, sur la base de catégorisation moderne, l'une à l'argumentation, l'autre à l'ornement, a quelque chose d'un peu forcé: après tout, il est assez naturel que le discours qui vise à convaincre par les moyens de l'*inventio* cherche aussi à plaire grâce à ceux d'*elocutio*").

21 On the pragmatics of *exemplum*, see also Jacques Berlioz, "Storytelling management et récits exemplaires. Le Prologue du *De dono timoris* du dominicain Humbert de Romans, mort en 1277)," in *Institution und Charisma. Festschrift für Gert Melville zum 65. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Franz J. Felten, Annette Kehnel, Stefan Weinfurter (Cologne, Weimar, Vienne: Böhlau, 2009), 549–58; Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Didactisme ou persuasion? Les recueils d'*exempla* au Moyen Âge," in *Éducation, apprentissages, initiation au Moyen Âge: actes du premier colloque international de Montpellier, 22–24 novembre 1991*, (eds.) Francis Dubost and Pierre-André Sigal, Cahiers du CRISIMA 1 (1993), 397–410.

22 For a discussion on the definition of the *exemplum* in the light of ancient rhetoric, see Nicolas Louis, "*Exemplum ad usum et abusum*: définition d'usages d'un récit qui n'en a que

argues that *exemplum* is a mode of persuasion that takes the form of a narrative.[23] As for the Christian writers' *sermo humilis*, it has been shown many times that it could be quite elevated in style and rhetorically charged. For example, Monique Goullet characterizes the simple style of hagiography as an oxymoron: it is beautiful, brilliant and simple all at the same time.[24] Underneath the apparent simplicity of style one often finds a well thought-out strategy of persuasion strengthened by stylistic means. Medieval rhetorical theory (Geoffrey of Vinsauf, John of Garland) inherited the classical concept of the 'low' style as opposed both to the 'middle' and the 'high' style (*Rhetorica ad Herennium* IV, 11–16).[25] The use of the 'low' style does not imply zero degree of rhetorical expression but pressupposes a specific set of lexical and syntactic choices. The 'low' style was used to speak about common people but also to address to them, if necessary; in this case, the 'low' style of rhetoric and the *sermo humilis* could, indeed, overlap. Both were the result of the author's conscious use of language. The presumed simplicity and spontaneity of Caesarius's style should therefore not be taken for granted.

As early as in 1947, Simone Roisin demonstrated, using the example of hagiographical works, that Cistercian texts considered to be straightforward and uncomplicated in fact employ certain stylistic techniques, especially those that aim at creating the effect of euphony (pleasant sounding).[26] More than sixty years later, in 2012, Marie Formarier published a first study of Caesarius's rhetorical practices where she analysed oratorical principles of the classical rhetoric that the Cistercian employs to create a sublime image of the divine.[27]

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la forme," in *Le récit exemplaire* (*1200–1800*). *Actes du XXIII^e colloque international de la Société d'Analyse de la Topique Romanesque, Belley 17–20 septembre 2009*, (eds.) Madeleine Jeay and Véronique Duché (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011), 17–36.

23 Jean-Yves Tilliette, "L'*exemplum* rhétorique: questions de définition," in *Les* exempla *médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, pp. 43–65, esp. p. 65.

24 Monique Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval* (*VIII^e–XIII^e siècle*), Hagiologia 4 (Tourhout: Brepols, 2005), 83. See especially pp. 70–84 (Chapter "Amplification et niveaux de styles").

25 For an introduction into medieval theory of the three styles, see Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Âge* (Paris : Champion, 1958), pp. 86–98.

26 Simone Roisin, *L'hagiographie cistercienne dans le diocèse de Liège au XIII^e siècle* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947), in particular "Procédés de style," 250–75.

27 Marie Formarier, "*Sermo humilis* et sublime dans le récit exemplaire d'une vision (Césaire de Heisterbach, *Dialogue des Miracles*, VIII, 5)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 124, no. 1 (2012). Available online, URL: http:"//mefrm.revues.org/295. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

I would like to continue with this line of analysis by addressing more specifically the question of whether Caesarius consciously followed the rules of rhetoric in order to discuss rhetorical and extra-rhetorical strategies of Cistercian persuasion. Such an analysis is necessary because the embellishments and adornments in the *DM* could be qualified as spontaneous imitation resulting from Caesarius's reading of the writings of the Church Fathers and the Victorines with their melodic prose. As Jean Leclercq states in his influential work *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu. Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du Moyen Âge*, reminiscences of the ancient oratorical art in monastic texts "are due to an intensity of culture which was derived from the classics and the Fathers."[28] The use of literary themes or devices (*loci communes*, *colores rhetorici*) is spontaneous, it is not, the scholar continues, "the result of any 'research'; they can be taken lightly and quite for granted."[29] Monastic literature and, apparently, monastic persuasion, therefore, are not subject to the rules prescribed by rhetoric, because to follow the rules would mean to keep them in mind, to be aware of their requirements and effects.

In order to begin to understand whether Caesarius is consciously applying the rules of rhetoric or not, we should start by addressing the question of what might be called the "author's mentality,"[30] that is to say, Caesarius's self-awareness as a writer expressed in his explicit attention to style and his desire to embellish, even if modestly, his writings. This is how we can gain a clearer understanding of the connection between the Cistercian's literary practice and contemporary rhetorical theories. In the remaining part of this paper, I shall focus first and foremost on the *DM*, Caesarius's most famous work that exemplifies his approach to style. His other writings will be used to provide a conceptual framework for this analysis.

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28 Jean Jeclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, A Study of Monastic Culture,* trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 175.

29 Jeclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 175.

30 On Caesarius's auctorial consciousness, see Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "L'émergence de l'auteur et son rapport à l'autorité dans les recueils d'*exempla*," in *Auctor et auctoritas. Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (14–16 juin 1999), 11–13 juin 1999, (ed.) Michel Zimmermann, Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 59 (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2001), 175–200.

The Simple Style and the Author's Posture

In the prologue to the *Vita Engelberti*, one of Caesarius's two full-fledged hagiographic works, we find perhaps the most revealing passage concerning the problem of style:

> Non mee professionis est, eciam si sciencia adesset, in historia simplici verborum faleras querere et floribus rethoricis sentencias purpurare. Hoc non monachorum, sed phylosophorum est, qui magis ad ostentacionem sciencie quam ad edificacionem morum loquuntur, secundum quod quidam ait: *Purpureus late qui splendeat unus et alter Assuitur pannus.* [Horat. II Epist. 3, 15, 16.] Unde oratorie iocunditatis dulcedinem et persuasibilis eloquii venustatem minus utilem contempnens, beati martiris actus et mortem simplici stilo prosecutus sum, in textus defloracione magis divine scripture testimoniis quam dictis utens phylosophicis (It is not suitable to my profession – even if I have enough knowledge – to seek verbal ornaments in the simple story and to adorn sentences with rhetorical flowers. It is not the job of monks, but that of philosophers who speak to show off their knowledge rather than to educate in morals, as someone says: [*Works with noble beginnings and grand promises*] *often have one or two purple patches so stitched on as to glitter far and wide*.[31] So, judging the sweetness of oratorical jocundity and the beauty of persuasive eloquence less useful, I gave an account of the blessed martyr's deeds and death in the simple style, in the textual *defloratio*,[32] using the quotes from the Holy Scripture rather than sayings of philosophers.)[33]

Caesarius is taking usual precautions to ward off potential criticism[34] while at the same time admitting his ability to adorn the text with the proper verbal ornaments and rhetorical figures, with the usual medieval stress on the *elocutio*—the choice of style, as indeed should be expected from an *alumnus* of the Cologne cathedral school whose education included rhetoric. Having

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31 English translation of Horace's *De arte poetica* by H. Rushton Fairclough: Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, (eds.) and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library 194 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 451.

32 *Defloratio*: picking of quotes (flowers) from the works of the ancient writers.

33 *Vita, passio et miracula S. Engelberti auctore Caesario Heisterbacensi*, AASS, Pt. Nov. 3, cols. 644–45.

34 See, for instance, the Prologue to the *DM*.

admitted his skill in eloquence, Caesarius immediately declares his refusal to use it, to follow the rules of rhetoric. His idea of rhetorically charged writing is apparently inspired by the *artes rhetoricae*'s standard requirements to use rhetorical figures, verbal ornaments, adorned *sententiae* and quotes from classical authors. For Caesarius, compliance with the rules of eloquence is associated with secular knowledge and with pride. Monastic profession, on the contrary, requires simplicity of style which should be less ornate even at the risk of being less persuasive.

A similar remark on style is made by Caesarius in the prologue to his *Vita sanctae Elizabeth* where he connects the simplicity of unadorned style more specifically with the simplicity of the Saint's life.

> Et quia sancta illa simpliciter et humiliter in hoc mundo vixit, puto quod plus delectetur, si eiusdem sancte conversationis simplicitas stilo simplici, veritate historie servata, illustretur, quam si ad scientie secularis ostensionem floribus rethoricis decoretur. (And because the Saint lived in this world simply and humbly, I think it would please her better if the simplicity of her saintly way of life were praised in a simple style, preserving the truth of history, rather than if it were embellished with rhetorical colours showing secular knowledge.)[35]

Caesarius's system of styles, though, is not dichotomous. Apart from the simple monastic style and the style that could be called 'rhetorical,' there exists for him an 'illustrious style' of the 'illustrious' ecclesiastical writers.

> Redemptionis nostre primordia, que in hac sacratissima lectione sumpserunt exordia, sepe uiri illustres illustri stylo illustrarunt et fidei sue monumenta in suis nobis scriptis reliquerunt: alii in sermonibus et homiliis; alii in glossulis et commentis, partim lectionis huius seriem exponentes historice, partim allegorice. Illi tamquam magni doctores imbuerunt fidem totius Ecclesie. Mecum bene agitur, si datum fuerit informare mores uel unius anime.[36] (The foundations of our redemption, the beginnings of which were exposed in this most holy reading, have often been illustrated by illustrious men in illustrious style. They left us testimonies of their faith in their writings: some in sermons and homilies, others in glosses

35 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Das Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth und andere Zeugnisse*, (ed.) Ewald Könsgen (Marburg, N. G. Elwert: 2007), 8.

36 *Fasciculus moralitatis venerabilis fr. Caesarii, Heisterbacencis monachi . . .*, (ed.) Joannes A. Coppenstein, (Cologne: P. Henningius, 1615), 1:3.

> and commentaries, having explained this reading [from the Gospels] in part historically, in part allegorically. Those great doctors instructed the faith of the entire Church. I will be content if only I am granted a chance to instruct in morals even one single soul.)

This 'illustrious style' is not explicitly defined, but it is clear that its splendor derives from exclusive qualities of the Church Fathers; therefore, it is impossible to emulate.

The style expresses primarily the personality of the writer, since it reveals the author's reflections on his profession and his place in the community. Therefore, the 'rhetorical' style of arrogant philosophers (and poets) is opposed both to the simple style of simple monks and to the illustrious style of the Fathers. Caesarius's claim that he is using the 'simple style' proves his readiness to give up – or rather not to show off – his skills as a man of letters, to break the 'secular rules' (that is to refuse to use stylistic embellishments and to construct his text in accordance with the rules taught at universities) and to cultivate the virtue of humility. That is why the simple style is so suitable for hagiography. In some sense, an hagiographer imitates the Saint's virtues because the persuasion of the audience is achieved not only with words (*verbis*) but also with the author's own example (*exemplo*).[37] In his reflection on the simple 'Christian' style, Caesarius is not original nor is his theory fully developed here. Nevertheless, however fragmentary it is, it already calls into question the supposed spontaneity of the author's rhetorical choices.

Variety of Discourse and the Audience's Pleasure

Further manifestations of rhetorical thought can be found elsewhere in Caesarius's writings. The most important for me here are the concepts of *varietas* and *delectatio*, variety and pleasure. For instance, Caesarius composes one of his numerous sermons in the form of a dialogue, saying that he is doing it for the sake of variety that pleases the audience:

> Quam verbis et exemplis ipse adiuuando pastore bono novo quodam loquendi modo, hoc est sub specie dialogi disserere conabor, quia dum conferendo sermo se variat, plus ipsa oratio delectat. Introducende sunt

37 On the teaching by words and by examples, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 31 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979).

> due persone, id est, Novitii interrogantis et Monachis respondentis: ut questione digna ille proponat, ipse solvat (With the help of the Good Shepherd both in words and examples, I will try to reason using a new mode of speech, namely the dialogue, because when the speech varies, it pleases more. Two characters will be introduced: the asking Novice and the answering Monk. The former will pose questions worthy of examining and the latter will answer them.)[38]

In his reflections on the rhetorical value of the dialogue, Caesarius echoes Richard of St Victor's *De Emmanuele*: "Sub forma autem dialogi totam subsequentis operis seriem digessi, eo quod hic modus dicendi vel docendi prae caeteris sit, vel ad audiendum icucundior, vel ad persuadendum efficacior" (I organised the whole development of the subsequent text in the form of a dialogue, because this mode of speaking or teaching is more than others pleasant to hear and effective for the purposes of persuasion).[39] It seems that Caesarius is also following the precepts of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* that advises the orator to make the style more distinguished, to render it ornate, embellishing the discourse by variety (IV, 13, 18). According to the widespread classical and medieval *topos*, all people and all senses are pleased by variety, and Caesarius is indeed preoccupied with capturing the audience's interest and goodwill. This preoccupation can be inferred from his attempts to disarm criticism and his efforts to control the transmission of his works,[40] as well as from the modest allusions to his success as a writer and his expressed willingness to comply with the readers' wishes. For example, some brothers, says Caesarius in the preface to his three-volume sermon collection known as *Fasciculus moralitatis*, were not happy with the abundance of visions and miracles in his Sunday sermons. That is why, he continues, he decided to refrain from using them in the cycle *De solemnitatibus sanctorum*.[41] The monks and lay brothers also complain that the sermons on Jesus's childhood are too long and too sophisticated, and he shows readiness to amend his manner and to use briefer and plainer style ("stilo utens breuiori atque planiori").

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38 *Fasciculus moralitatis*, 2:93.

39 Richard of St Victor, *De Emmanuele*, PL 196, col. 633. On the rhetoric of medieval dialogical forms, see Peter von Moos, "Le dialogue latin au Moyen Âge: l'exemple d'Evrard d'Ypres," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 4 (1989): 993–1028.

40 For more detail, see Polo de Beaulieu, "L'émergence de l'auteur."

41 *Fasciculus moralitatis*, 1: n.p.

Caesarius is, as follows from the prologues to his different works, preoccupied with clarity, which is only to be expected from the author of an *exemplum* collection intended for those "inopes, non gratia, sed litteratura" (poor, not in grace, but in learning.)[42] However, the clarity of expression depends, according to Caesarius, not only on the clarity of the words and intelligible exposition of the ideas, but also on the beauty of the language. In one of his stories he talks about a Premonstratensian provost of French origin who addressed lay brothers in German. But as his mastery of this language was not sufficient, he could not use ornate words and therefore his speech seemed perverse and distorted to them: "Quia non bene exprimere potuit Teutonicum idioma, habere non potuit verba ornata, et ideo quicquid loquebatur, conversis videbatur esse perversum atque distortum" (Because he could not master German well, whatever he said to the lay brothers sounded corrupt and distorted: *DM* IV, 62). One must speak the language well in order to win the audience over and to be understood; and that is what Caesarius himself is aspiring to, because disfigured words pervert the meaning and cause aversion. As the linguist Teun A. van Dijk points out, literary, aesthetic or rhetorical schemata do not have specific meanings as such, but may have a persuasive function in the communicative context where they may influence the 'acceptability' of the discourse. It may be assumed, he continues, and it has been demonstrated experimentally, that these additional forms of organization allow a better representation in episodic memory and hence better retrieval.[43] This acceptability, in the ancient rhetoric known as *aptum* (the adaptation of the discourse to the morals and opinions of the audience), requires that a point of contact should exist between the writer and the reader, that they share their core values; its goal is that the arguments produce belief and faith (*fides*).[44] By adapting his writing to his audience's rhetorical expectations, Caesarius establishes and strengthens his connections to the community and reinforces the effect of the 'making believe' (*faire croire*).

42 *DM*, Prologue.

43 Teun A. van Dijk and Walter Kintsch, *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension* (New York: Academic press, 1983), 241–42.

44 On the importance of the *aptum* for the ancient rhetorical theory, see Alain Michel, *Rhétorique et philosophie chez Cicéron: Essai sur les fondements philosophiques de l'art de persuader* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), 298ff.

Dialogue(s) and the Effect of the Real

In the prologue to his *Vita sanctae Elizabeth*, Caesarius reveals that this text is, in fact, a rewriting, made at the request of Ulrich, the prior of the *domus Theutonicorum* (house of the Germans, i.e. of the Teutonic Order) in Marburg. The request was transmitted to Caesarius by his fellow monk Christian who took to the Heisterbach abbey a quaternion with a brief account of the life of the Saint (the well-known *Libellus de dictis quatour ancillarum S. Elisabeth*). Christian asked Caesarius to make a *historia* from this *formula*, the task Cesasarius intended to complete by using the simple style: "Ex persona vestra instanter satis me monuit et rogavit, quatinus eandem conversationis formulam redigere vellem in hystoriam" (On your behalf, he admonished and asked me to transform the formula of her life into a history).[45] It is clear that the word *historia* is used here in its terminological meaning: in rhetoric, *historia* is a particular kind of *narratio* (along with *fabula* and *argumentum*), a narrative of actual events that took place in the past. Even though a *historia* was supposed to relate events that actually happened, it required the application of rhetorical techniques of the *narratio verisimilis*. It had to be clear (*aperta*), short (*brevis*) and plausible (*probabilis*).

The orator was expected to attempt to bring the events before the eyes of his audience, and this is exactly the effect Caesarius is praised for. For example, Karl Langosch sums up the distinctive features of Caesarius's style as follows: refusal of rhetoric embellishment, preference for simplicity and clarity.[46] At the same time, "with all the unartfulness and simplicity of his discourse and representation it seems very artful. He succeeds in reconstructing individual events and describing them so clearly and impressively that they are brought before our eyes."[47] Brian Patrick McGuire also points out this effect of Caesarius's narration: "He writes with freshness and vitality, so that one often can forget the literary precedents and concentrate on the fascination of the stories themselves. This is partly due to the abundance of direct speech in Caesarius's stories, but most importantly it is the result of his faithfulness to

45 *Das Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*, 8.

46 Karl Langosch, "Caesarius von Heisterbach," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), col. 1163.

47 Langosch, "Caesarius von Heisterbach," col. 1665: "Mit Ungekünsteltheit und Schlichtheit in Sprache und Darstellung wirkt er künstlerisch recht stark. Er vermag einzelne Vorgänge dramatisch aufzubauen und so klar und eindrucksvoll zu schildern, daß sie deutlich vor Augen stehen."

his sources."[48] Is this due to an inherent talent for observation and storytelling or to an artful usage of the methods of the *narratio verisimilis*[49] to make the text more persuasive? Let us mention in passing that made-up speeches (that is, speeches that could have been given by people who lived in the past), as Matthew Kempshall argues, were thought to constitute very useful exercises, and not just for poets but for historians too.[50] The *DM*, with its historical intention to preserve in writing miracles that occurred in the Cistercian Order for the purpose of saving them from oblivion could be analysed in the context of medieval historiography, heavily influenced by demonstrative rhetoric and combining commemoration and moral didacticism.[51]

It is also worth mentioning that, according to Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, medieval reflections on the dialogue as a type of text, albeit quite rare, always insist (as Caesarius also does) on the characters who pronounce their lines (as if the exchange of questions and answers were not enough to qualify the text as a dialogue).[52] This emphasis on the exchange between two persons could justify analyzing the dialogical framework of the *DM* in terms of *sermocinatio* (and therefore of *aptum* and *verisimile*). The Novice's lines create an impression of this character being not only a discursive device, but a real person, and the vivid exchange between him and his teacher invites the reader to consider their dialogue as a plausible portrayal of emotional bonds formed during the period of probation of novices.[53] The conversation between the Monk and the Novice turns out to create an additional textual level that displays the very process of successful Cistercian persuasion.

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48 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's 'Dialogus Miraculorum," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 167–247, here p. 167.

49 Such as, for instance, the figure of *evidentia* (vivid and detailed description) or *sermocinatio* (set statements put in the mouths of the persons concerned).

50 Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400–1500* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 340.

51 Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, 164.

52 Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge 1200–1400. Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 45.

53 See also Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Do Actions Speak Louder than Words? The Scope and Role of *Pronuntiatio* in the Latin Rhetorical Tradition, with Special Reference to the Cistercians," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words. Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 124–50, and esp. p. 134 on the effect of emotional intimacy produced by an enacted dialogue in the *De spirituali amicitia* by Aelred of Rievaulx.

Rhetoric and Contact with the Audience

Another aspect of the *DM* that could be studied in the rhetorical perspective are the 'morals' of its *exempla* which were nothing but *sententiae,* general maxims urging the audience to a certain action, exhorting to refrain from something or demonstrating what something is. In the *DM*, such maxims are to be found mostly in the dialogic interaction between the Monk and the Novice, that is to say, they are already emphasized by the variation of the discourse. But there is more: the *sententiae* are also the most rhetorically rich sections of the work. It is here that we find the majority of rhetorical ornaments used by Caesarius of Heisterbach.

There are, first of all, figures creating the effect of rhythmic euphony, that is words are selected and arranged so as to please the ears of the audience.[54] Sometimes Caesarius resorts to an *anaphora*, a device consisting in the repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of multiple clauses or sentences. For instance: "Quanta mala mali sacerdotes Deum non timentes braxent in confessionibus, plurimis exemplis tibi possem ostendere, sed *parcendum* est ordini, *parcendum* sexui, *parcendum* religioni" (I could show you by many examples, how much bad priests who are not afraid of God harm in confessions, but let us spare the Order, let us spare [the female] sex, let us spare religious life: *DM* III, 41).[55] Sometimes he uses the figure of *polyptoton*, repeating the root of a word with a different ending. For example: "*Dilig*entes se *dilig*it, imo *dilig*endo praevenit et honorat; contemnentes se, quia iusta est, punit et humiliat" (She loves those who love her, or rather, in this love, helps and does them an honour; and those who disregard her, she, being just, punishes and humiliates: *DM*

54 On the effects of rhythmic euphony as a succeseful tool of rhetorical persuasion within the *sermo humilis*, see Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Du *stilus gravis* au *stilus humilis*?" in *Robert d'Arbrissel, entre philologie et histoire*, (eds.) Pascale Bourgain and Dominique Poirel. Online publication of the École nationale des chartes. URL: http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/arbrissel/tilliette. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

55 *Anaphora:* "*Quid* pluvia, *nisi* gratia? *quid* terra, *nisi* liberum arbitrium" (*DM* II, 1)? "Sicut enim in creaturis universis matre Creatoris *nil* est sanctius, *nil* dignius, *nil* excellentius, ita eius visione *nulla* sanctorum visio dignior, *nulla* iocundior, *nulla* eminentior" (*DM* VII, 1). "*Quam* sint iocundae, *quam* salutiferae visiones sanctarum virginum, sequentia declarabunt" (*DM* VIII, 79). *Aliquando* Deus miracula operatur ut in elementis, ut mortalibus suam ostendat potentiam. *Aliquando* genera dat linguarum, sive spiritum prophetiae, ut manifestet suam sapientiam. *Aliquando* gratiam dat sanitatem, ut suam magnam nobis revelet misericordiam (*DM* X, 1).

VII, 1).[56] The *similiter desinens* (and *silmiliter cadens*), a repetition of a word ending, occurs quite often, for instance (the following example also contains *anaphora*): "Stare debet *contra* superbiam humil*itas*, *contra* iram len*itas*, *contra* invidiam car*itas*, *contra* tristitiam spiritalis iocund*itas*, *contra* avaritiam larg*itas*, *contra* gulam potus cibique parc*itas*, *contra* luxuriam cast*itas*" (Against pride should stand humility, against anger – gentleness, against sadness of spirit – joy, against greed – generosity, against gluttony – frugality in drink and food, against fornication – chastity: *DM* IV, 103).[57] But Caesarius of Heisterbach seems particularly fond of *leonitas*, an internal rhyme at the end of two clauses. For example: "Ex nimis importuna daemonum tentatione hic disco, plus eos timuisse novicii huius humil*itatem*, quam supradicti monachi virgin*itatem*" (Judging by this importunate temptation, I understood that they were more afraid of the humility of that novice than of the virginity of the aforementioned monk: *DM* IV, 6).[58] We should not forget that Caesarius composed several Leonine verses with the same rhyming principle.[59] One of them is inserted in the *DM* after the story of St Hildegund:

> Omnis homo miretur, homo quid fecerit iste,
> Haec, cuius fossa cineres inclusit et ossa.
> Vivens mas paret, moriens sed femina claret.
> Vita fefellit, morsque refellit rem simulatam.
> Hildegunt dicta, vita est in codice scripta.

56 *Polyptoton*: Quo verbo audito, ille multum *aedificat*us est, multis illud ad *aedificat*ionem recitans (*DM* IV, 48). Ab ipso enim salutaris est con*vers*io, quia quos potenter con*vert*it, ab his misericorditer iram suam a*vert*it (*DM* I, 1).

57 *Similiter desinens*: Pluvia terrae infundi*tur*, et ex utroque herba gigni*tur*; deinde ex herba fructus produci*tur* (*DM* II, 1). Ced*endo* eis confundi*mur*; resist*endo* mere*mur*; vinc*endo* corona*mur* (*DM* IV, 1). *Similiter cadens*: Satis mihi iam probatum est, quod ipsa totius sit orbis conserv*atrix*, tribulatorum consol*atrix*, fida sibi famulantium defens*atrix* (*DM* VII, 1). Quantus sit in tentatione lab*or*, quantus tim*or*, quantum dispendi*um*, quantumve merit*um*, sequentia declarabunt exempla (IV, 1).

58 *Leonitas*: Huic diversae visiones contradicere viden*tur*, in quibus legitur quod opera bona nec non et mala in statera posita ponder*entur* (*DM* XII, 21). Ne superflua videretur confes*sio*, sine cuius desiderio nulla fit rem*issio*. (*DM* II, 10) Duo enim genera sunt superbiae, unum intus est in cordis ela*tione*, alterum foris in operis ostens*ione* (*DM* IV, 3). Proch dolor. Quod abhorret Judaeus et quod exsecratur pag*anus*, hoc quasi pro lege habet Christi*anus* (*DM* IV, 15).

59 For example, in the prologue to his cycle of homilies *De infantia Servatoris*, see *Fasciculus moralitatis*, 1:2.

Maii bis senis est haec defuncta Kalendis (I, 40)[60]
(Everyone would marvel at what this man did.
She, whose ashes and bones are in the grave,
During her lifetime appeared to be a man, and in death a woman shines.
Life deceives and death exposes the deception.
Her name is Hildegunt, her life is written in a book.
She died on the twelfth day before the Kalends of May.)

In the maxims accompanying the *exempla* from the *DM*, Caesarius of Heisterbach also resorts to semantic figures that help underline the meaning, as well as to the figures that carry emotional content. For instance, he uses *correctio* (correction of the speaker's own utterance) for the sake of emphasis: "Non miror si homo iste iustus vel potius per crucis signationem iustificatus, tam mirifica vidit, et promeruit; sed si nosti, dic unde mirer" (No wonder that this just man – or, rather, made just because he had taken the cross – merited and saw such marvelous things, but if you know more, tell me, so that I marvel: *DM* VII, 56).[61] In the *DM*, the figures that emphasize an argument by expressing the speaker's emotion are *interrogatio* (the so-called 'rhetorical question' to which no answer is expected) and *exclamatio* (the expression of an intensified emotion). Here are examples of *interrogatio*: "Vides quantae fortitudinis factus sit is, qui ante conversionem nimis fuerat pusillanimis? Unde hoc, nisi ex divinis consolationibus, quae sunt in ordine?" (You see how strong the one who had been so timid before conversion became? From where has this come, if not from the spiritual consolations in the Order? *DM* IV, 48) and *exclamatio*: "Proch dolor! Quod abhorret Judaeus et quod exsecratur paganus, hoc quasi pro lege habet Christianus" (Alas! What a Jew is afraid of, what a pagan exterminates, a Christian accepts as if it were law: *DM* IV, 15).[62]

Insisting on the simplicity of his style, Caesarius uses rhetorical ornaments mostly to underline a point, to make his maxims more pleasant to hear, easier to understand and to remember but also more emotionally appealing. As

60 This epigraph is not found in the existing *Vitae of S. Hildegund* and could be by Caesarius. McGuire, "Written Sources," 254.

61 *Correctio*: Cumque vocem hanc coelitus demissam minus attenderet, vel potius non intelligeret, nocte quadam per visum se stare vidit in capella domus suae ante altare coram imagine beatae Dei Genitricis (*DM* VII, 8).

62 *Interrogatio*: Ecce, ubi in isto voluntas convertendi, in quo sola operata est voluntas Spiritus sancti? (*DM* I, 8). Sed quid dicam de gutta, cum eius sacra tumba, sicut hi qui in instanti de Syna venerunt testantur, oleo sit repleta? (*DM* VIII, 84). Et quid dicam de verbis contumeliosis, cum etiam stultiloquia, sine felle malitiae contra sanctae Dei Genitricis imaginem prolata, noverim in praesenti acriter satis punita? (*DM* VII, 43).

Pascale Bourgain shows in her recent article, rhythm in prose creates, by force of repetition, an effect of anticipation: the desire to hear more produces an emotional attachment.[63] Many of the figures used by Caesarius are emotive and serve to establish and intensify contact with the audience. They also signal the author's intentions, purposes, strategic attitudes and thus help the interpretation of the discourse that occurs in the interaction between people.[64]

Conclusion

There is no denying that Caesarius's style betrays an awareness of rhetoric. If the Cistercian claims to refuse to follow and obey its rules, it may be because for him rhetoric is associated with secular speech or, even more probably, with the school exercises consisting in the study and imitation of poets.[65] Nevertheless, there existed other rules that varied from one manual to another, meant to create a simple and plausible narration that would please the audience by its clarity and variety. Caesarius's choice of rhetorical figures cannot be explained by spontaneous imitation. Instead, he tried to subordinate rhetoric to monastic humility and to use it more freely; for him it was a tool, not a goal. The rhetorical complexity of an apparently colourless, 'transparent' style cannot be labeled as a specifically Cistercian rhetorical feature. What is special about it is the Cistercian interactional context; the Cistercians' interest for the recent history of the Order, their assertion of affective friendship as well as their engagement in the storytelling practices built a link between language and situation and largely contributed to the effect of spontaneity and ingeniousness that strengthens the persuasive powers of the *DM*. But what is even more special is Caesarius's mastering of the language and his knowledge of the emotions of his audience. His rhetorical skills turn this proximity to the sources into the effect of *verisimile* that proves to be appealing to the readers from other communities and in later centuries. Caesarius invites the reader to imagine what

63 Pascale Bourgain, "Le rythme de la prose au Moyen Âge central, ou les amours du nombre et de l'émotion," in *Rythmes et croyances au Moyen Âge*, (eds.) Jean-Claude Schmitt and Marie Formarier, *Scripta Mediaevalia* 25 (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2014): 57–66.

64 On 'interactional interpretation,' see van Dijk and Kintsch, *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*, 94.

65 On the monks' critical attitude to schools, see Reinhard Schneider, "Rheinische Zisterzienser im mittelasterlichen Studienbetrieb," in *Die niederrheinischen Zisterzienser im späten Mittelalter. Reformbemühungen, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, (ed.) Raymund Kottje, Zisterzienser im Rheinland 3 (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1992), 121–36.

he describes and elicits an imaginative response. And believing involves imagining; for some scholars, the imagination is even the *sine qua non* of belief.[66] At least in some sense, the *DM* is a literary project that appears to be free from bookish traits; it follows some rules to be worthy of his readers and refuses to follow others to make its author worthy of salvation.

66 Colin McGinn, *Mindsight: Image, Dream, Meaning* (Harvard, Harvard University Press, 2009), 142. The summary of discussion on the imagining and belief see in *Handbook of Phenomenology and Cognitive Science*, (ed.) Shaun Gallagher and Daniel Schmicking (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), 151.

CHAPTER 4

Visual Imagination in Religious Persuasion: Mental Imagery in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (VIII, 31)

Marie Formarier

Since classical Antiquity, the process of persuasion and the use of mental images by the orator were considered to be linked. One important example is Quintilian's demonstration in the *Institutio oratoria*. Before he begins to speak, the orator must conjure up in his mind the situation, the persons involved and the facts, in order to be able to prepare himself psychologically and emotionally.[1] During his speech, he should strive to 'reveal' these mental images[2] through his words but also his attitude, his gestures, even an occasional *mise en scene*, for example when the crying children of the accused are shown to the audience. This antique conception of the *imago*, understood as an image at once concrete and produced by the mind, is appropriated by the Christian doctrine and becomes a fundamental part of the theory of belief, memory and imagination. Mary Carruthers's works made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the anthropological meaning of the *imago*.[3] I am convinced, however, that we still need to understand the relationship between the *imago*

1 See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, (ed.) Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), IV, 2, 123–24; VI, 2, 29–36. The practical application of this technique of mental and physical representation is explained by Antonius in Cicero's *De Oratore*, see *M. Tulli Ciceronis Rhetorica* (ed.) Augustus Samuel Wilkins, vol. 1, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), II, 188–96. I would like to thank Gisèle Besson for her advice and suggestions concerning the interpretation of the Latin text.

2 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI, 2, 32: "Insequetur ἐνάργεια, quae a Cicerone inlustratio et euidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere uidetur quam ostendere, et adfectus non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur." (From such impressions arises that ἐνάργεια which Cicero calls illumination and actuality, which makes us seem not so much to narrate as to exhibit the actual scene, while our emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence.). *The Institutio oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. Harold Edgeworth Butler, vol. 2, Loeb classical library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 435, 437.

3 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

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and persuasion in medieval monastic rhetoric further, and in particular in the Cistercian exemplary stories. I began this investigation by showing in an earlier paper[4] that the ancient concept of the sublime, understood as a "process of apparition"[5] (*euidentia*),[6] developed by the Latin rhetoric of the Imperial period, was borrowed, modified and adapted by the Cistercians in line with the idea of the *sermo humilis* inherited from Ambrosius and especially Augustine. If the ancient sublime, communicated through stylistic and rhetorical devices that can be grouped under the general heading of hyperbole, aims at "giving the reader the illusion of seeing objects and persons that are not there,"[7] the Cistercian sublime is striving to achieve a representation (*representatio*) of the image of the divine. *Distinctio* VIII of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *DM* is a case in point. In this paper, I shall continue my investigation by analysing one of the stories of this *distinctio* dedicated to visions in order to establish how the *imago* is used for the purposes of persuasion.

In the first chapter of the *distinctio*, Caesarius reminds us of the conceptual framework that is used to report exemplary stories and visions: the definition of the vision conforms exactly to the Augustinian precepts, that is to the

4 Marie Formarier, "*Sermo humilis* et sublime dans le récit exemplaire d'une vision (Césaire de Heisterbach, *Dialogue des Miracles*, VIII, 5)," in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, Moyen Âge 124 (2012). Available online, URL: http://mefrm.revues.org/295. Accesed 9 January, 2015.

5 'procédure d'apparition'. See Barbara Cassin, "Procédures sophistiques pour construire l'évidence," in *Dire l'évidence* (*philosophie et rhétorique antiques*), (eds.) Carlos Lévy and Laurent Pernot, Cahiers de Philosophie de l'université du Val-de-Marne Paris XII (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 17. See also Luc Brisson, "L'intelligible comme source ultime d'évidence chez Platon," in *Dire l'évidence*, 109–10; Ruth Webb, "Mémoire et imagination: les limites de l'*enargeia* dans la théorie rhétorique grecque," in *Dire l'évidence*, 229.

6 The translation of the Greek *enargeia* by *euidentia* is proposed in the passage quoted above (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI, 2, 32). It is important to bear in mind the etymological connection between *euidentia* and *uidere: enargeia* (*euidentia*) results from *phantasia* (*uisio*). See *Institutio oratoria*, VI, 2, 29; Ps. Longin, *Libellus de sublimitate*, XV, 1; Webb, "Mémoire et imagination," 233).

7 "donner au lecteur l'illusion de voir des objets ou des êtres absents." Perrine Galand-Hallyn, *Le reflet des fleurs. Description et métalangage poétique d'Homère à la Renaissance*, (Genève: Droz, 1994), 38. Quintilian's definition of *visio* (*Institutio Oratoria*, VI, 2, 29): "Quas φαντασίας Graeci uocant (nos sane uisiones appellemus), per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere uideamur, has quisquis bene ceperit is erit in adfectibus potentissimus" (There are certain experiences which the Greeks call *φαντασίαι*, and the Romans *visions*, whereby things absent are presented to our imagination with such extreme vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes. It is the man who is really sensitive to such impressions who will have the greatest power over the emotions. *The Institutio oratoria of Quintilian*, 433 and 435.).

hierarchy of visions established in *De Genesi ad litteram* and *De Trinitate*, but also to the definition of memory presented in the *Confessiones*. I believe that it will therefore be useful to remind the reader of these conceptual frameworks and specify the aspects used by Caesarius in his literary and pedagogical work. I will continue by analysing *exemplum* 31 that gives a particularly striking illustration of *repraesentatio*, rooted at the same time in the literary, and more specifically hagiographical, tradition and in the social reality of the thirteenth century. This story centres around a leper, using a particularly ingenious narrative and rhetorical device.

Augustinian Heritage

Augustine's theory of vision is founded upon a tripartite hierarchy of types of vision: corporeal, imaginative and intellectual.

> Quamquam itaque in eadem anima fiant uisiones, siue quae sentiuntur per corpus, sicut hoc corporeum caelum et terra et quaecumque in eis nota esse possunt, quemadmodum possunt, siue quae spiritu uidentur similia corporum, de quibus multa iam diximus, siue cum mente intelleguntur, quae nec corpora sunt nec similitudines corporum, habent utique ordinem suum et est aliud alio praecellentius. Praestantior est enim uisio spiritalis quam corporalis et rursus praestantior intellectualis quam spiritalis. (Accordingly, it is indeed in one and the same soul that visions are brought about; ones perceived through the body, like this bodily heaven and earth and whatever in them can be known, to the extent that they can be; ones like bodies that are seen by the spirit, about which we have already said so much; and ones that are understood by the mind, which are neither bodies nor likenesses of bodies. But they have, of course, their proper order, and one kind ranks higher than another. Thus spiritual vision outclasses the bodily kind, and in turn the intellectual outclasses the spiritual.)[8]

As a result, Augustine recognizes memory's double function: its power to store images perceived by the senses and its ability to produce new ones, based on these corporeal images and yet independent of sensory reality:

8 Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, XXIV, 51. *On Genesis*, trans. Edmund Hill, (ed.) John E. Rotelle, vol. 13 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: New City Press, 2002), 492.

> Ibi sunt omnia distincte generatimque servata, quae suo quaeque aditu ingesta sunt [...]. Haec omnia recipit recolenda cum opus est et retractanda grandis memoriae recessus et nescio qui secreti atque ineffabiles sinus eius: quae omnia suis quaeque foribus intrant ad eam et reponuntur in ea. Nec ipsa tamen intrant, sed rerum sensarum imagines illic praesto sunt cogitationi reminiscenti eas. (Memory preserves in distinct particulars and general categories all the perceptions which have penetrated, each by its own route of entry [...] memory's huge cavern with its mysterious, secret and indescribable nooks and crannies receives all these perceptions to be recalled when needed and reconsidered. Every one of them enters into memory, each by its own gate, and is put on deposit there. The objects themselves do not enter, but the images of the perceived objects are available to the thought recalling them.)[9]

Following the Classical tradition, Augustine conceives memory in geographical terms as an organised space with a direct access to the spirit. Thus memory is at the same time capable of stocking sensations resulting from images encountered in one's experience and of creating new ones from fragments of these image-sensations. In other words, these new mental images can be compared to a patchwork of pre-existing images, perceived by the senses and accumulated in memory:

> Et Carthaginem quidem cum eloqui volo, apud me ipsum quaero ut eloquar et apud me ipsum invenio phantasiam Carthaginis. Sed eam per corpus accepi, id est per corporis sensum, quoniam praesens in ea corpore fui et eam vidi atque sensi memoriaque retinui [...]. Sic et Alexandriam cum eloqui volo, quam numquam vidi, praesto est apud me phantasma eius. Cum enim a multis audissem et credidissem magnam esse illam urbem sicut mihi narrari potuit, finxi animo imaginem eius quam potui [...]. Quam tamen imaginem si ex animo meo proferre possem ad oculos hominum qui Alexandriam noverunt, profecto aut omnes dicerent: "Non est ipsa," aut si dicerent: "Ipsa est," multum mirarer atque ipsam intuens in animo meo, id est imaginem quasi picturam eius, ipsam tamen esse nescirem, sed eis crederem qui visam tenerent. (In fact when I wish to speak of Carthage, I seek for what to say within myself, and find an image of Carthage within myself; but I received this through the body, that is, through the sense of the body, since I was present there in the body, and

9 Augustine, *Confessiones*, X, 8, 13. The translation of the *Confessions* is quoted in this article from Henry Chadwick's translation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 186.

> have seen and perceived it with my senses, and have retained it in my memory [...]. So too, when I wish to speak of Alexandria, which I have never seen, an image [imago] of it is also present within me. For I had heard from many people and believed that it is a great city; so in accordance with the description that could be given me, I formed an image of it in my mind as I was able; and this is its word within me, when I wish to express it, before my voice utters the five syllables that make the name almost everyone knows. And if I could bring this image from my mind before the eyes of the people who are familiar with Alexandria, all would doubtless say either, "That is not it," or if they were to say, "That is it," I would be much surprised; and while I gazed upon it in my mind, that is, upon the image as if it were a picture of it, yet I should not know if it were so, but I would believe those who had seen it and retained the image of what they had seen.)[10]

In this passage, Augustine is using two examples to illustrate the difference between a corporeal and a spiritual image. The image (*phantasia*) of Carthage that he has in his memory is the result of a real sensory experience; it represents a personal memory ("eam vidi atque sensi memoriaque retinui"). By contrast, the image of Alexandria relies on another person's experience and words ("sicut mihi narrari potuit"). Based on this testimony, Augustine created in his mind a possible image of the city ("finxi animo imaginem eius"). Possible, because even if the characteristics of the made-up image (*phantasma*) correspond to the description of the city, most probably they do not reflect reality. Taking into account this core distinction between the corporeal and the spiritual image, based on the idea of the dual nature of memory defined by its ability to store and imagine, Augustine goes on to explain the role of these images in a story:

> Quamquam saepissime credamus etiam vera narrantibus, quae ipsi sensibus perceperunt. Quae cum in ipso auditu quando narrantur cogitamus, non videtur ad memoriam retorqueri acies, ut fiant *visiones* cogitantium; neque enim ea nobis recordantibus, sed alio narrante cogitamus. Atque illa trinitas non hic videtur expleri, quae fit cum species in memoria latens et visio recordantis tertia voluntate copulantur. Non enim quod latebat in memoria mea, sed quod audio, cogito, cum aliquid mihi narratur. [...]. Sed si diligentius consideremus, nec tunc exceditur memoriae modus.

10 Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XI, 8, 14. Augustine, *On the Trinity, Books 8–15*, (ed.) Gareth B. Matthews, trans. Stephen McKenna (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15–6.

> Neque enim vel intellegere possem narrantem, si ea quae dicit, et si contexta tunc primum audirem, non tamen generaliter singula meminissem. Qui enim mihi narrat, verbi gratia, aliquem montem silva exutum, et oleis indutum, ei narrat qui meminerim *species* et montium et silvarum et olearum. Quas si oblitus essem, quid diceret omnino nescirem, et ideo narrationem illam cogitare non possem. Ita fit ut omnis qui corporalia cogitat, sive ipse aliquid confingat, sive audiat, aut legat vel praeterita narrantem, vel futura praenuntiantem, ad memoriam suam recurrat, et ibi reperiat modum atque mensuram omnium formarum quas cogitans intuetur. (Yet it happens very frequently that we also believe those who narrate some true experiences which they themselves have perceived through their senses. And since we conceive these things narrated to us as we actually hear them, it does not seem as if the mind's eye turns back to the memory in order that *visions* may arise in our thoughts; for we do not conceive them by virtue of what we remember, but according to what another describes to us . . . [. . .] Even then, if we consider the matter more carefully, we do not go beyond the limits of the memory. For the only reason why I could understand what the narrator was saying, even though I then heard his words put together for the first time in a connected discourse, was because I remembered generically the individual things that he described. For example, he who describes to me a mountain that is stripped of its forest and clothed with olive trees is speaking to one who remembers the forms [*species*] of the mountains, the forests, and the olive trees; had I forgotten them, I should not at all know what he was saying, and, therefore, I could not conceive that description. And so it comes about that everyone who conceives corporeal things, whether he hears or reads what someone relates about the past or foretells about the future, returns to his memory and finds there the mode and the measure of all the forms that he beholds in his thoughts.)[11]

Here Augustine is discussing the process whereby belief is prompted by an eye-witness account, the process that, several centuries later, was to become the model for the production of Cistercian exemplary narratives. In the first instance, Augustine excludes memory from this process and the formation of the mental image (*uisio*) is presented as an activity of the spirit (*cogitare*). Then he revises his argument and proposes that when the images are not generated by the memories of past experience, they are the result of both of the

11 Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XI, 8, 14. Augustine, *On the Trinity, Books 8–15*, 76–7 (*emphasis mine*).

story that has been heard and the listener's own memories. Now we can better understand the stress put in the previous passage on the overlap of images created by the story and those that had already been present in memory. This overlap creates a common ground between the speaker and his audience, which is instrumental in the process of persuasion, because the new images will be constructed from material already familiar, assimilated by the listener.

As has been shown by Olivier Boulnois, Augustine's theory is central to thinking about the image in the Middle Ages. Augustine's ideas have a lasting influence and confer upon the *imago* an ethical and educational value, especially when it produces a story (*historia*) that requires an effort of interpretation, a hermeneutical endeavour.[12] Nevertheless, attitudes to the notion of *imago* remained ambivalent, especially in Cistercian circles. It is well known that Bernard of Clairvaux condemned the use of material images in monasteries very severely. Furthermore, Cistercian regulatory documents often call for a restriction of the use of figurative objects.[13] At the same time, Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167) develops a theory of meditation based on the use of the *imago*. First and foremost, one must fight ravings of the imagination and vain curiosity.[14] Meditation, especially assisted by silent reading and liturgy,[15] will replace these bad images by good images, inspired by the Scripture. In fact, reading (or listening to) a text triggers representation (*repraesentatio*) that allows the subject to become a witness of the *historia* that is being told.[16] As Boulnois explains, "he who dedicates himself to it visualizes the scene, projects himself onto it, takes part in the drama; he is taken by the intrigue, the dialogue

12 Olivier Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image. Une archéologie du visuel au Moyen Âge V^e–XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2008), 92–3; Grégoire le Grand, *Homeliae in Evangelia*, PL 76, col. 1250.

13 See Bernard de Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, XII, 29, PL 182, col. 916. See also *Capitula* (c. 1133), chap. XXVI in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, (ed.) Chrysogonus Waddell (Brecht: Citeaux, 1999), 516 and *Instituta* (1147), chap. XX, in *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, 541.

14 See, for example, Aelred of Rievaulx, *De speculo caritatis*, II, XXIV, 72, (eds.) Anselm Hoste and Charles H. Talbot, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 101: *uanitatum imagines* (images of the vanities) are produced in the spirit through reading of secular texts (Virgil, Horace, Cicero) and the deceitful beauty of love verse. The same idea is expressed in his *De institutione inclusarum:* Aelred of Rievaulx, *La vie de recluse*, (ed.) and trans. Charles Dumont. Sources Chrétiennes 76 (Paris: Cerf, 1961), 26: *Haec tibi incentivum praebeant caritatis, non spectaculum vanitatis* (The images should therefore give rise to outbursts of love and not become a display of vanities).

15 Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image*, 127.

16 Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image*, 124–25.

and the emotion of the moment."[17] For example, in his treaty *De Institutione Inclusarum*, Aelred makes this visualisation into a rhetorical tool of his own argument, in particular when he mentions the Last Judgement. This is how he addresses the imaginative powers of his treaty's addressee:

> Iam nunc diei illius intuere terrorem [...]. Cogita nunc, te ante Christi tribunal inter utramque hanc societatem assistere, et necdum in partem alteram separatam. Deflecte nunc oculos ad sinistram iudicis, et miseram illam multitudinem contemplare [...]. Retorque nunc ad dexteram oculos et quibus te glorificando sit inserturus adverte. (And now imagine the horror of this day [...] Imagine that you are before Christ's judgement. You are there between two groups. You have not yet been directed toward the one or the other party. Turn your head and look at this miserable crowd to the judge's left. Turn to the right now and see where you will be placed when you will have been glorified.)[18]

Let us now look at how this theory of *repraesentatio* is used in Caesarius of Heisterbach's works. It is true that we cannot establish with certainty Aelred's influence on *Distinctio* VIII of the *DM*; Augustine's hierarchy of visions, however, is alluded to in the Monk's introduction to this section of the work. The Monk explains that corporeal vision affects the senses: "cum aliqua Dei dono corporaliter videntur, et per illa aliquid significatur, ut sicut legitur Heliseus vidit currus igneos in raptu Heliae, et Rex Balthazar articulos manus scribentis in pariete" (when things are seen corporeally, *by God's gift*, and when something is *signified* by them, like when we read that Elisha saw Elijah taken up to Heaven by the chariots of fire (2 Kings 2:11) or when King Balthazar saw a hand that was writing on the wall (Daniel, 5.5): VIII, 1).[19] The Monk elucidates the status and function of the divine vision as presented by Augustine: it is a manifestation of God's generosity in a subject, and, at the same time, a sign that refers to a reality external and superior to this vision. Then the Monk defines imaginative vision as an *imago* that is not produced by the senses but by the spirit, either in ecstasy or in a dream: "Quae fit per imagines sine corporibus, ut fieri solet in extasi et in somnis" (spiritual vision uses *non-corporeal images*, as is often the case in ecstasy and in dreams: *DM* VIII, 1). Finally, intellectual vision is contemplation of God without the mediation of an *imago*:

17 "celui qui s'y livre visualise la scène, s'y projette, prend part au drame; il y est pris par l'intrigue, le dialogue ou l'émotion du moment": Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image*, 126.

18 Aelred of Rievaulx, *De institutione inclusarum*, 33.

19 All italics are mine.

"Visio intellectualis sive mentalis est, quando nec corpora, nec imagines rerum videntur, sed in incorporeis substantiis intuitus mentis mira Dei figitur potentia" (the intellectual or mental vision occurs when we see neither bodies nor images, but when the admirable power of God is imprinted in non-corporeal substances under the gaze of the spirit: *DM* VIII, 1). If Caesarius takes the trouble to remind his readers of Augustine's hierarchy of visions, it is not so much in order to announce the plan of the *distinctio* but to inscribe the stories that will follow in the spiritual and theological tradition whose authority is guaranteed by Augustine's reputation. In fact, these stories will present spiritual visions that demonstrate, with the help of mental images,[20] the foundations of Christian doctrine, in particular the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity. The chapter ends with the Novice's intervention that allows Caesarius to conclude with an allusion to Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*: "Quali modo sive in qualibus formis coelestes spiritus, utrum sint angeli seu humani, mortalibus se videndos exhibeant, magis exemplis quam sententiis scire desidero. . ." (In what way and in what form do the celestial spirits, whether angels or souls of people, show themselves to the mortals, I want to teach *by examples rather than by principles*: *DM* VIII, 1).[21] Thus the Augustinian heritage is seen as a literary and pedagogical tool that, in the following text of the *distinctio*, will facilitate the presentation of Cistercian visions.

Taking into account this introduction, permeated by a double influence – Augustinian and Gregorian, – I would like to propose the following hypothesis: through a series of exemplary *historiae* that punctuate *Distinctio* VIII, Caesarius is inviting the reader/listener to create representations, in other words to imagine the scene and to connect in an intimate way to what is being said. From this moment on, the aim of the exemplary story of a vision is, it seems to me, to create representations that could at the same time appeal to pre-existing mental images in the collective imagination and to construct a Cistercian monastic identity by producing original images.

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20 *DM*, VIII, 4: "Somnium quandoque fit ex reliquiis cogitationum et curis; quandoque ex crapula; quandoque ex inanitione ventris; quandoque ex illusione et fantastica imaginatione inimici sine praecedente cogitatione; quandoque ex praemissa cogitatione, illusione secuta; quandoque per revelationem Spiritus sancti, quae multis modis fit; et est hoc genus somnii dignissimum" (Dreams sometimes occur because of the remainder of our thoughts or concerns, sometimes because of overeating or hunger, sometimes because of an illusion or fantastic images sent by the Devil, which are not preceded by thought, sometimes because of a stray thought followed by an illusion, sometimes because of a revelation of the Holy Spirit, which can have multiple guises; this last one is the worthiest kind of dream.).

21 *Emphasis mine.*

A Case Study: Count Theobald and the Leper[22]

The *exemplum* that I would like to analyse here features the count Theobald (Thibaut) II of Champagne (1093–1151) and a leper. In the Middle Ages, leprosy was not solely seen as a disease, it was also a social phenomenon.[23] Moreover, it became the object of theological interpretations[24] that explored ambivalent attitudes to the illness in the Bible. In the Old Testament, leprosy is linked to sin, for example in the Book of Job and in Chapter 13 of Leviticus which teaches how to diagnose leprosy and how to dispose of leprous garments. In the New Testament, on the other hand, the leper is assimilated to the poor who deserve to go to Paradise after death, especially in the Gospel of Luke with its story of the beggar named Lazarus.[25] The leper is also a recurring figure in hagiography, for example in Sulpicius Severus's *Vita sancti Martini*.[26] The use of the figure

22 *DM*, VIII, 31. Cf. Frederick C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Folklore Fellows Communications 204 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1969), no 0985b.

23 Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Voluntate Dei leprosus: les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991).

24 Nikoletta Giantsi, "Les difformités corporelles des lépreux," in (*De*)*formierte Körper. Die Wahrnemung und das Andere im Mittlelalter*, (eds.) Gabriela Antunes and Björn Reich (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2012), 121–35.

25 Luke, 16, 19–22: "Homo quidam erat dives et induebatur purpura et bysso et epulabatur cotidie splendide et erat quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus qui iacebat ad ianuam eius ulceribus plenus, cupiens saturari de micis quae cadebant de mensa divitis sed et canes veniebant et lingebant ulcera eius. Factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahae; mortuus est autem et dives et sepultus est in inferno." (There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day: And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried.)

26 Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini*, 18: "Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis euntibus introiret, leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit, statimque omni malo emundatus. Postero die ad ecclesiam ueniens nitenti cute gratias pro sanitate, quam receperat, agebat." (At Paris, again, when Martin was entering the gate of the city, with large crowds attending him, he gave a kiss to a leper, of miserable appearance, while all shuddered at seeing him do so; and Martin blessed him, with the result that he was instantly cleansed from all his misery. On the following day, the man appearing in the church with a healthy skin, gave thanks for the

of the leper makes it possible to showcase the Saint's miraculous powers that imitate Christ's example. However, it seems to me that, apart from the Bible, Caesarius's main inspiration is to be found in Gregory the Great's *Homeliae in Evangelia*: the protagonist is the monk named Martyrius who meets a leper on his journey. Martyrius carries the leper all the way to the monastery on his shoulders. In the epilogue we learn that the leper is in fact Christ himself.[27] This quick overview reminds us that the figure of the leper could have multiple meanings in medieval writing: a social outcast, a sinner, a heretic, a poor virtuous man and even Christ himself. In other words, mental imagery associated with the leper is manifold and complex and provides ample material for use in exemplary stories like the one that will be studied below. Here is how Caesarius tells it:

> De Theobaldo Comite qui in figura leprosi, Christi pedes lavit.
>
> Nobilissimus princeps Theobaldus Comes Campaniae, de cuius operibus misericordiae in Vita sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claraevallis mira leguntur, tante humilitatis erat, ut etiam praesentialiter tuguria leprosorum visitaret. Adhuc vivunt qui illum in carne viderunt. Habebat autem ante quoddam suum castrum leprosum quendam manentem, ante cuius domunculam quotiens eum contigit transire, de equo descendit, et ad illum intrans, postquam pedes eius lavit, eleemosynam dedit, et abiit. Post breve tempus idem leprosus Comite ignorante defunctus est et sepultus. Die quadam Comes iterum via illa transiens, mox ut ante tugurium sibi notum venit, descendit dicens: "Oportet me visitare patrem meum." Intransque non leprosum, sed in leprosi forma et habitu contemplatus est Dominum. Cui cum consueta opera misericordiae impendisset, et tanto devotius, quanto inspirabatur a visitato fortius, hilaris exivit. Cumque suis dixisset: "Gaudeo me vidisse leprosum meum," responderunt ei quidam: "Domine sciatis pro certo eum dudum esse defunctum, et in tali loco sepultum." Quod ubi comperit princeps piissimus, exultavit in spiritu, eo quod videre eique ministrare meruerit praesentialiter, quem multo tempore in suis membris veneratus est invisibiliter. Ut autem

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soundness of body which he had recovered: *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, trans. Alexander Roberts, (ed.) Philip Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 2, vol. 11 (1st ed. 1894, repr. New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2007), 12).

27 About this text, see François-Olivier Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge. La lèpre, les lépreux et les léproseries dans la province ecclésiastique de Sens jusqu'au milieu du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, Brussels: De Boeck, 1998), 206–7. The text can be found in the Appendices.

> Dominus Jesus tantam humilitatem tanti principis etiam in praesenti remuneraret, et ut verba sua ostenderet quae dixerat: "Quicquid uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis," se illi exhibere dignatus est. (On the subject of Count Theobald who washed the feet of Christ who appeared as a leper. A most noble prince, Theobald of Champagne (one reads admirable things of his charitable deeds in the *Life of St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*) was so humble that he personally visited the huts where the lepers lived. There are still people who saw this with their own eyes still alive today. Thus, there was a leper who lived in front of his castle; every time that the count passed by the hut, he would get off his horse, enter the dwelling and go straight to the leper; after having washed his feet, he would leave his alms and be on his way. Shortly after, the leper died and was buried without the count's knowing. One day the count was following this same road and when he saw the familiar hut he got off his horse and said: "I have to visit my father." When he got in, he did not see the leper but our Lord who had taken the guise and appearance of the leper. When he accomplished his usual charitable works, with even more devotion because he was even more inspired by the one he was visiting, he left the hut very happy. When he told his people: "I am so happy to have seen my leper," some answered him: "My lord, you should know that he died recently and that he was buried in such and such place." When the very pious prince heard this news, he rejoiced in his spirit: he had been granted an opportunity to see and serve in person Him who he had long been venerating in his members and who had heretofore stayed invisible. In order to reward him, also in this world, for such a great humility of such a great prince and to illustrate His words: "when you did it to one of the least of my brethren here, you did it to me," Lord Jesus deigned showing Himself to him. *DM* VIII, 31).

Count Theobald of Champagne appears in Bernard of Claivaux's *Vita prima*[28] that Caesarius cites explicitly in his *exemplum*: "de cuius operibus misericordiae in Vita sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claraevallis mira leguntur" (one reads admirable things of his charitable deeds in the *Life of St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*). Presented in the *Vita* as a "nobilissimus princeps" (a most noble prince) gifted with two essential virtues – mercy and humility, Theobald appears in this work first of all as a benefactor of the Cistercians lending financial and material support to the community in Clairvaux but also as a close friend of Bernard himself. It is not, therefore, surprising that the count becomes the protagonist of a

28 These texts can be found in the Appendices.

Cistercian *mirum.* Caesarius's eulogy is even more elaborate: he uses existing terminology ("nobilissimus princeps") and praises the count's humility in a superlative formula ("tantam humilitatem tanti principis" – such great humility of such a great prince) and thus integrates the familiar exemplary material but complicates it with a very skillful narrative and rhetorical construction.

I would like to propose that in the moral and literary perspective Caesarius effects a doubling of the figure of Christ through the use of two different pre-existing mental images. The first is taken from the Gospel of John (13, 1–v16): Christ washes his disciples' feet; the second from the story of Martyrius: the leper is in fact Christ. The point of contact between these two images is, for me, the adverb *praesentialiter* (in the presence) that refers at the same time to the presence of the count among the lepers and the presence of Christ in the person of the leper. Through this doubling, the presence of Christ is progressively revealed thanks to the double rhetorical and narrative movement (comparison/identification) with a quotation from the Gospel of Matthew (25, 40) as its high point: "And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." It is important to remember that this quotation was already present in Gregory's tale. The use of this technique in the *exemplum* is the result of Caesarius's reflection on rhetoric and didactics as is suggested by the comparison between the story as it appears in the *DM* and its earlier version; it is Caesarius's own homily for the epiphany of Christ.[29]

If we take this as a working hypothesis, it will appear that the first part of the story is aiming at comparing Theobald to Christ:

Text of the Homily X	**Text of the *DM***
Erat enim comes Campanie, vir mire atque stupende misericordie (He was in fact the count of Champagne; it was a man gifted with marvelous and suprising mercy)	De Theobaldo Comite qui in figura leprosi, Christi pedes lavit (On the subject of Count Theobald who washed the feet of Christ in the guise of a leper.)

29 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Homilia in epiphania Domini,* in *Fasciculus moralitatis venerabilis fr. Caesarii, Heisterbacencis monachi . . .*, (ed.) Joannes A. Coppenstein (Cologne: P. Henningius, 1615), 1:117. Number XIII in Coppenstein's edition. Alfons Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1933), 76–7. For the correct numbering of homilies, see Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten*, 1:18.

(cont.)

Text of the Homily x	Text of the *dm*
	Nobilissimus princeps Theobaldus Comes Campaniae, de cuius operibus misericordiae in Vita sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claraevallis mira leguntur, tante humilitatis erat, ut etiam praesentialiter tuguria leprosorum visitaret. Adhuc vivunt qui illum in carne viderunt (A most noble prince, Theobald of Champagne (one reads admirable things of his charitable deeds in the *Life of St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*) was so humble that he personally visited the huts where the lepers lived. There are still people who saw this with their own eyes still alive today.)
Habebat hic leprosum quendam, ante quoddam castrum suum commanentem (There was a leper who lived in front of a castle that belonged to him.)	Habebat autem ante quoddam suum castrum leprosum quendam manentem, (Thus, there was a leper who lived in front of his castle;)
Cuius tugurium quociens preterivit, tociens de equo descendit, intravit, pedes lavit deosculatisque manibus eleemosinam porrexit (Every time that he passed by the hut, he would get off his horse, enter, wash the leper's feet, kiss his hands and give him alms.)	ante cuius domunculam quotiens eum contigit transire, de equo descendit, et ad illum intrans, postquam pedes eius lavit, eleemosynam dedit, et abiit (every time that the count passed by the hut, he would get off his horse, enter the dwelling and go straight to the leper; after having washed his feet, he would leave his alms and be on his way.)
Tandem mortuus est leprosus comite ignorante (In the end the leper died without the count knowing about it.)	Post breve tempus idem leprosus Comite ignorante defunctus est et sepultus (Shortly after, the leper died and was buried without the count knowing.)

If mercy is a virtue that was attributed to the count in the first version of the story already, in the *DM* Caesarius insists on Theobald's humility using the expression of consequence "tantus … ut …" that makes it possible to integrate in the same statement the adverb "praesentialiter." Moreover, this laudatory preamble ends with a *cursus trispondaicus*: "leprosórum visitáret." As has already been pointed out, Caesarius authenticates the tale through an explicit mention of a written source (*Vita prima*) supported by an eye-witness account – a common technique of the *exemplum* ("adhuc … viderunt"). The introduction of the figure of the leper is more or less identical in both versions; however, Caesarius no longer alludes to the kissing of the hands in the *DM*, however, he retains the washing of the feet: the only image Caesarius is using here is that of Christ washing his disciples' feet in a gesture of humility. I have noted elsewhere that the syntactic structure is made more complex in the second version: the correlative construction "quotiens … totiens" is replaced here by a more extended utterance: /*quotiens* … main clause … *et*/ + /past participle … *postquam* … main clause/. It is possible that, for pedagogical reasons, Caesarius is trying to clarify the chronology of the story. The most striking difference between the two versions can be observed in the ending of the first part (the death of the leper): the formula "mortuus est" is replaced by a biblical reference "defunctus est et sepultus."[30] The reader/listener would easily recognize this solemn phrase which concludes the first part of the story. It is the first stage of the process of revelation of the figure of Christ.

Text of the Homily X	**Text of the *DM***
Alio itidem tempore cum comes eiusdem leprosi intrasset domunculam secundum consuetudinem (On another day when, in a similar way, the count entered the leper's small house, as was his habit,)	Die quadam Comes iterum via illa transiens, mox ut ante tugurium sibi notum venit, descendit dicens: "Oportet me visitare patrem meum." (One day the count was following this same road and when he saw the familiar hut he got off his horse and said: "I have to visit my father".)

30 Acts of the Apostles, 2, 29: "Viri fratres, liceat audenter dicere ad vos de patriarcha David, quoniam defunctus est, et sepultus" (Peter's first sermon: "Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried.").

(cont.)

Text of the Homily x	Text of the *DM*
invenit iam non leprosum, sed Jhesum in effigie sepedicti leprosi in loco sibi noto sedentem. (he found himself in front not of the leper but of Jesus in the guise of the leper described above, seated in the usual place.)	Intransque non leprosum, sed in leprosi forma et habitu contemplatus est Dominum. (When he got in, he did not see the leper but our Lord who had taken the guise and appearance of the leper.)
Cui cum opera misericordie more solito exhibuisset (When he performed the usual charitable works)	Cui cum consueta opera misericordiae impendisset, et tanto devotius, quanto inspirabatur a visitato fortius, (When he accomplished his usual charitable works, with even more devotion because he was even more inspired by the one he was visiting,)
et egressus, a suis eundem leprosum defunctum atque sepultum veraciter cognovisset, gavisus est valde (and left, he learned from his subjects that in fact this same leper had died and had been buried; and he rejoiced)	hilaris exivit. Cumque suis dixisset: "Gaudeo me vidisse leprosum meum," responderunt ei quidam: "Domine sciatis pro certo eum dudum esse defunctum, et in tali loco sepultum." (he left the hut very happy. When he told his people: "I am so happy to have seen my leper," some answered him: "My lord, you should know that he died recently and that he was buried in such and such place.")
se tunc vidisse eum presencialiter, quem hactenus in suis membris veneratus est invisibiliter. (to have seen, present in His person, Him he had venerated in his members and who had stayed invisible.)	Quod ubi comperit princeps piissimus, exultavit in spiritu, eo quod videre eique ministrare meruerit praesentialiter, quem multo tempore in suis membris veneratus est invisibiliter. (When the very pious prince heard this news, he rejoiced in his spirit: he had been granted an opportunity to see and serve in person Him who he had long been venerating in his members and who had heretofore stayed invisible.)

Text of the Homily X	Text of the *DM*
	Ut autem Dominus Jesus tantam humilitatem tanti principis etiam in praesenti remuneraret, et ut verba sua ostenderet quae dixerat: "Quicquid uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis," se illi exhibere dignatus est. (In order to reward him, also in this world, for the so great humility of such a great prince and to illustrate His words: "when you did it to one of the least of my brethren here, you did it to me," Lord Jesus deigned showing Himself to him.)

Whereas the earlier version provides a simple narrative framework, in the *DM* Caesarius uses a great number of rhetorical devices to make the scene 'visible' to the reader/listener. The most important change is the addition of direct speech. The count's first speech ("oportet me visitare patrem meum"), associated with a reference to time ("die quadam"), makes this visit stand out from all the others, whereas the earlier version focuses more on the everyday character of the action ("secundum consuetudinem") instead. If it attracts our attention to the privileged affectionate connection between the count and the leper that transcends social hierarchy, it is impossible not to see in the expression "patrem meum" a first announcement of the final revelation. The count's second speech ("Gaudeo me vidisse leprosum meum") deploys an emotional reaction only suggested in the earlier version ("gavisus est valde"). This joy accompanies acts of charity that are certainly habitual but performed with more devotion and vigour on that day because of the disguised identity of the leper ("tanto devotius, quanto inspirabatur a visitato fortius"). The subjects' reply triggers the revelation by providing information which will allow the count to interpret the vision hermeneutically. This process of understanding that has more to do with emotion ("gaudeo," "hilaris," "exultavit") than intellectual reasoning, allows Caesarius to make the ethical characterisation of the count more complex, because his text has hagiographical undertones, as is suggested by the biblical reminiscence "exultavit in spiritu."[31] The exegetic value of the *exemplum* relies on the two adverbs already present in the earlier version: *praesentialiter* and *invisibiliter*. It is really a vision of the divinity, because the presence of the

31 "In ipsa hora exsultavit Spiritu Sancto" (At that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit: Luke, 10, 21).

invisible Christ is manifested through the appearance of the leper. Using these two adverbs, Caesarius expresses Augustine's doctrine of theophany: what appears to man is not God in His essence, invisible and immutable, but "in a manifestation, the way he wanted to appear."[32] As Boulnois argues, "theophanies remain *metaphors* of the invisible in the visible."[33] This paradox of Christ at once invisible and manifested remains the main focus of the story, and the addition in the later version of the notion of merit ("meruerit," "remuneraret") and of the final biblical quotation which brings to mind Gregory the Great's hagiographical story, gives the count's vision a double function: it is at once a contemporary illustration of Scripture and a real paranaesis, because it represents an ethical model to follow and the reward that will be given for virtuous behaviour.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this *exemplum* Caesarius follows the plot of the earlier version and introduces new more complex elocutionary techniques. In his stories, a representation (*repraesentatio*) that allows the reader/listener to visualise the scene and to feel him/herself intimately involved in this visionary experience is elaborated. Even though Theobald II of Champagne was not a monk, he was no less of a monastic model due his compassion and his humility. In order to emphasize this exemplary ethical behaviour and confer to it an almost hagiographical dimension, Caesarius resorts to two mental images established in the collective imagination and related to the figure of the leper. These images are revealed gradually: the count, a virtuous man *par excellence*, benefactor of the Cistercians, friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, is striving to follow in Christ's footsteps; the leper, in the end, becomes a carnal envelope of a real theophany. In order to operate this *repraesentatio*, Caesarius uses rhetorical devices from the classical oratorial tradition (a very careful approach to word order, a marked syntactical rhythm, stress-rhythm, but also the use of direct speech and biblical quotations). This multiplication of voices lends a more pronounced dramatic value to the story; the exegesis thus presented

32 "dans une manifestation, tel qu'il a voulu apparaître": Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image*, 137. See also Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, X, XIII: Augustin, *La Cité de Dieu, livres VI–X, Impuissance spirituelle du paganisme*, edited Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, Bibliothèque Augustinienne 34 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 474.

33 "les théophanies demeurent des métaphores de l'invisible dans le visible": Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image*, 138.

expresses itself through illustration by example. In this, Caesarius follows a principle so dear to Gregory the Great which is recalled by the Novice at the beginning of *Distinctio* VIII: to teach by examples and through touching characters rather than by an abstract and impersonal account. Moreover, this parenetic usage of the mental *imago* allows Caesarius to get around Cistercian precepts that restrict the use of images while at the same time enhancing the prestige of *repraesentatio*. To do so, the author of the *DM* employs a reasoning reminiscent of Aelred of Rievaux's: thanks to the knowledge acquired in a vision, the visionary achieves, through intimate faith, invisible transcendence.

Appendix

Gregory the Great. *Homeliae XL in Evangelia*. Homely 39 (Luc, 19, 42–47). PL 76, cols. 1300–1. Grégoire le Grand. *Homélies sur l'Evangile, Livre II* (*21–40*). (Eds.) and trans. Raymond Étaix †, Georges Blanc, and Bruno Judic, 516–21. Sources Chrétiennes 522, Paris: Cerf, 2008. English translation by David Hurst, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 336–68. Cistercian studies series 123. Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990.

Sed quia ad amorem Dei et proximi plerumque corda audientium plus exempla quam verba excitant, charitati vestrae indicare studeo quod is qui praesto est filius meus Epiphanius diaconus, Isauria provincia exortus, in vicina factum terra Lycaoniae solet narrare miraculum. Ait enim quod in ea quidam, Martyrius nomine, vitae valde venerabilis monachus fuit, qui ex suo monasterio visitationis gratia ad aliud monasterium tendebat, cui spiritualis pater praeerat. Pergens itaque, leprosum quemdam, quem densis vulneribus elephantinus morbus per membra foedaverat, invenit in via, volentem ad suum hospitium redire, sed prae lassitudine non valentem. In ipso vero itinere se habere perhibebat hospitium quo idem Martyrius monachus ire festinabat. Vir autem Dei eiusdem leprosi lassitudinem misertus, pallium quo vestiebatur in terram protinus proiecit et expandit, ac desuper leprosum posuit, eumque suo pallio undique constrictum super humerum levavit, secumque revertens detulit. Cumque iam monasterii foribus propiaret, spiritualis pater eiusdem monasterii magnis vocibus clamare coepit: Currite, ianuas monasterii citius aperite, quia frater Martyrius venit Dominum portans. Statim vero ut Martyrius ad monasterii aditum pervenit, is qui leprosus esse putabatur, de collo eius exsiliens, et in ea specie apparens qua recognosci ab hominibus solet Redemptor humani generis, Deus et homo Christus Iesus, ad coelum Martyrio aspiciente rediit, eique ascendens dixit: Martyri, tu me non erubuisti super terram, ego te non erubescam super coelos. Qui sanctus vir mox ut est monasterium ingressus, ei pater monasterii dixit: Frater Martyri, ubi est quem portabas? Cui ille respondit, dicens: Ego si scivissem quis esset, pedes illius tenuissem. Tunc idem Martyrius narrabat quia cum eum portasset, pondus eius minime sensisset. Nec mirum quomodo enim pondus sentire poterat, qui portantem portabat? [. . .] Quid enim in humana carne sublimius carne Christi, quae est super angelos exaltata? Et quid in humana carne abiectius carne leprosi, quae tumescentibus vulneribus scinditur, et exhalantibus fetoribus impletur? Sed ecce in specie leprosi apparuit; et is qui est reverendus super omnia, videri despectus infra omnia dedignatus non est. Cur hoc, nisi ut sensu nos tardiores admoneret, quatenus quisquis ei qui in coelo est festinat assistere, humiliari in terra et compati etiam abiectis et despicabilibus fratribus non recuset?

(Since examples often rouse the hearts of one's hearers to love of God and neighbor better than words, I want to report you a miracle. My child the deacon Epiphanius, who is present with us, and who comes from the province of Isauria, tells us of its having occurred in the neighboring territory of Lycaonia. He says that there was a certain monk there of very holy life named Martyrius. He was making his way from his own monastery to another, of which a spiritual father was in charge, in order to visit him. As he was going along the road he came upon a leper, whose limbs were covered with sores caused by elephantiasis. The leper said that he wanted to return to the place he was staying, but was too exhausted to do so. He indicated that this place was on the road along which the monk Martyrius was hurrying. The man of God pitied the leper's exhaustion, and immediately put the cloak he was wearing on the ground, spread it out, laid the leper upon it, wrapped him in the cloak, raised him upon his shoulders, and carried him along with him.

When he was approaching the monastery gates, the spiritual father of the monastery began to call out in loud voice: "Hurry, open the monastery gates quickly! Brother Martyrius is coming, carrying the Lord!" As soon as Martyrius reached the gates, the one he thought was a leper leapt down from his shoulders. The God-man, Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the human race, revealed himself in such a way as to be recognized by humans. As Martyrius looked on, he returned to heaven, and said as he was ascending: "Martyrius, you were not ashamed of me upon earth. I will not be ashamed of you in heaven." As soon as the holy man entered the monastery, the abbot said to him, "Martyrius, where is the one you were carrying?" Martyrius answered him, "If I had known who he was, I would have held on to his feet." Then he said that when he was carrying him he had not felt his weight at all. This is not to be wondered at. How could he feel the weight of one who was carrying his carrier?

[. . .] What body is more sublime than Christ's, which was raised above the angels? What human body is more repulsive than a leper's, with open and swollen wounds which give off a stench? But Christ appeared in the likeness of a leper; he who is to be revered above all did not disdain to be looked down on as below all. Why was this, unless it was to counsel us who are dull in apprehension that anyone hastening to be with him who is in heaven should not refuse to become humble on earth, should not refuse to be compassionate even toward repulsive and contemptible brothers and sisters.)

Ernaldus Bonaevallis. *Sancti Bernardi vita prima*, II, 5, PL 185, col. 285.

Audivit hoc sanctae memoriae nobilissimus princeps Theobaldus, et multa in sumptus dedit, et ampliora spopondit subsidia. (The most noble prince Theobald, whose memory we revere, learned this [that the Cistercians would themselves build their monastery]; he donated a lot of money and promised to provide even more resources.)

PART 3

Elaboration and Dissemination of a Narrative Theology

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CHAPTER 5

Narrative Theology in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*

Victoria Smirnova

As a result of the 'narrative turn' in the humanities and social sciences, the 1970s saw the rise of narrative theology which remains one the most important strands of modern theology to this day. Narrative theology stresses the key role stories play in biblical writing and considers narration to be a fundamental category of theological thought.[1] In his *Kleine Apologie des Erzählens*, published in 1973, the German Catholic theologian Johann Baptist Metz argues that Christian theology can only be narrative, because, along with ecclesiastical practice, it is based on the constant vivid evocation of Christ's passion and resurrection by believers. The narration, itself a form of memory,[2] is thus seen not as a matter for interpretation but as a language of theological reflexion which alone is able to convey the lived experience of the sacred[3] and thus to establish the Christian identity of persons and congregations.[4]

A model of narrative theology, as Bernard Sesboüé points out, is provided by the Gospels themselves: "Why not limit ourselves to the *logia*? Their theologies, diverse and complementary, have been sufficiently studied for it to be necessary to insist on it. It is more than a theology of a story: it is a theology

1 See, for example, Johann Baptist Metz, "Kleine Apologie des Erzählens," *Concilium* 9 (1973): 334–41 reprinted in *Conculium* 85 (1973): 84–96; Harald Weinrich, "Narrative Theologie," *Concilium* 9 (1973): 329–34; Hans W. Frei, *Theology of Narrative: Selected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); George W. Stroup, *The Promise of Narrative Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1984); *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology,* (eds.) Stanley M. Hauerwas and L. Gregory Jones (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989); Gerard Loughlin, *Telling God's Story: Bible, Church and Narrative Theology* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999); Bernard Sesboüé, "De la Narrativité en théologie," *Gregorianum* 75, 3 (1994): 413–29.

2 Paul Ricœur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000).

3 Stephen Crites, "The Narrative Quality of Experience," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 39, no. 3 (1971): 290–311.

4 On the role of the narration in the formation of the ethos of a community, see, for example, James M. Gustafson, *Varieties of Moral Discourse: Prophetic, Narrative, Ethical, and Policy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Calvin College and Seminary, 1988), 19–20.

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that is being developed in the fabric of the tale itself".[5] Nevertheless, the notion of narrative theology cannot and should not be limited to biblical writing. It is possible to extend it to other works and to clarify how fundamental theological concepts are communicated through and within their narrative structures. Such is the approach adopted by Béatrice Acklin Zimmermann in her analysis of the *vitae* of fourteenth-century nuns,[6] or by Michaela Pfeifer[7] who studies the dogmatic coherence of the *Exordium magnum*, an *exemplum* collection composed by the Cistercian Conrad of Eberbach at some point before 1220. A theology that is being elaborated in a narrative work is inductive rather than deductive;[8] it does not start with an abstraction but rather derives from a specific story. Therefore, stories should not be treated as illustrations of doctrine, instead, they demonstrate how the narrative itself creates a doctrinal dimension, produces an 'authorised' and 'systematic' body of knowledge related to faith.[9]

It is exactly from this perspective that I propose to read Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (hereafter *DM*). Such a reading takes on even more urgency given that very little research has been dedicated to the theology of Caesarius's writing.[10] The *DM*'s didactical purpose is ostensibly to explain the essential points of the Christian doctrine. Even though this intention presupposes a need for theological reflection, Caesarius's teaching proves to be difficult to conceptualise in theological terms.[11] As a rule, theology is understood as a strictly theoretical kind of discourse; therefore, it is not surprising that the author of the *DM* is not as a rule perceived as a theologian

5 "Pourquoi ne pas s'en être tenu à des *logia*? Leurs théologies, diverses et complémentaires, ont été suffisamment étudiées pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'y insister. Il s'agit de plus que d'une théologie de l'histoire: c'est une théologie qui s'élabore dans la trame même du récit" (Sesboüé, "De la narrativité," 416).

6 Béatrice W. Acklin Zimmermann, *Gott im Denken berühren: Die theologischen Implikationen der Nonnenviten* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993).

7 Michaela Pfeifer, "Quand les moines racontent des histoires . . . Spiritualité cistercienne dans l'*Exordium magnum cisterciense*," *Collectanea cisterciensia* 65 (2003): 34–47.

8 Alexander Lucie-Smith, *Narrative Theology and Moral Theology. The Infinite Horizon* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2007), 1.

9 Claude Langlois, "Un historien devant la théologie," in *Histoire et théologie*, (ed.) Jean-Dominique Durand (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994), 15–31, here p. 26.

10 One important exception is Albert Michael Koeniger, *Die Beicht nach Cäsarius von Heisterbach* (München: J. J. Lentner, 1906).

11 Given the rather unorthodox character of some of his stories, Caesarius was sometimes accused of being "a-theological" if not "non-Christian" (Ludwig Schädel, *Deutsches Klosterleben im 13. Jahrhundert nach Cäsarius von Heisterbach*, Zeitfragen des christlichen Volkslebens 17 (Stuttgart: Belser, 1892), 28.

but rather as a gifted storyteller who did not make an attempt at formalising spiritual experiences and moral norms. In this context, the concept of narrative theology could be a convenient critical tool that would help us see that the two roles are in fact not incompatible and make us understand Caesarius's working method better. As Klaus Schreiner demonstrates in his study of the normative dimension of the *DM*, Caesarius is not developing an explicit theory but entrusts himself to God in order to reconcile strict norms with the needs, experiences and limitations of his readers. This is what Schreiner describes, albeit in passing, as narrative theology.[12]

Caesarius is a theologian not only because he proposes a teaching accessible to the inopes, "non gratia, sed literatura" (poor not in grace but in learning),[13] but because of the very fact that he attempts to convey lived experiences of divine presence, interprets and systematises them with the help of his own observations, biblical quotations and liturgical reminiscences. The *DM*'s theological nature becomes even more apparent if we remember that monastic theology, as Jean Leclercq underlines at several points,[14] is a *practical theology* that has to be experienced in the exercise of prayer and contemplation: theological speculation would thus be inseparable from religious feeling and devotional practices. When monks tell stories they produce the doctrine while at the same time applying it.

The Cistercian Doctrine of the Eucharist: A Short Introduction

To illustrate Caesarius's use of narrative theology, I chose *Distinctio* IX of the *DM*, dedicated to Eucharistic miracles. The sacrament of the Eucharist, as Gerard Loughlin points out, has a number of aspects relevant to the study of narrative theology. Since the Eucharist itself enacts a story of an experience lived by Jesus Christ, it invites the believers to revisit the biblical narrative and make this experience their own during each celebration of the mass.[15] From the earliest days of the Cistercian Order, the Eucharist was at

12 Klaus Schreiner, "Caesarius von Heisterbach (1180–1240) und die Reform des zisterziensischen Gemeinschaftslebens," in *Die niederrheinischen Zisterzienser im späten Mittelalter. Reformbemühungen, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, (ed.) Raymund Kottje, *Zisterzienser im Rheinland* 3 (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag 1992), 75–99, here p. 96.

13 *DM* Prologue.

14 Jean Leclercq, "Saint Bernard et la théologie monastique du XII[e] siècle," in *Saint Bernard théologien. Actes du congrès de Dijon, 15–19 Septembre 1953. Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 9 no. 3–4 (1953): 7–23.

15 Loughlin, *Telling God's Story*, 223. On the sacrament of the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, see especially: Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*

the centre of the white monks' spirituality.[16] It has also been suggested that the Cistercians made a substantial contribution to the spectacular propagation of Eucharistic devotion. According to Albert Mirgeler, a causal link existed between the devotion to the Miraculous Host and the veneration of relics popularised by the Cistercians.[17] Another hypothesis, accepted by most scholars, establishes a connection between the importance given to the Eucharist and the devotion to Christ's humanity which the Cistercians ardently promoted.[18]

It would be difficult to infer a coherent Eucharistic doctrine from the writings of the Cistercian fathers. Nevertheless, a summary of the most important points of Bernard of Clairvaux's writings on the topic should give an idea of the spiritual climate in which the Cistercians of the Rhine region lived (it should, however, be noted that Bernard did not dedicate any texts specifically to the Eucharist). Within the logic of the practical theology of the Order, Bernard, as Leclercq reminds us, sees the Eucharist as one of the exercises of prayer and ascesis that make it possible for God to live in a man and help Christians

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(Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991); Godefridus J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist. A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les églises d'Orient et d'Occident au Moyen Âge,* 2 vols, (eds.) Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau et al. (Paris, Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2009); *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Ian Levy, Gary Macy and Kristen Van Ausdall (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Eucharistic miracles are studied more specifically in Peter Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau: Verlag Müller & Seiffert, 1938) and Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, 309–51. On the subject of the Eucharist in the *exempla* and sermons, I would like to refer the reader to an article by Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "*Communion, Corps du Christ*, et *Sacrement de l'eucharistie*: trois rubriques exemplaires de la *Scala coeli* de Jean Gobi le Jeune," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie,* 2: 927–50, and Nicole Bériou's contribution to the same volume, "L'eucharistie dans l'imaginaire des prédicateurs d'Occident (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)," 2: 879–926.

16 For example, Camille Hontoir, "La dévotion au Saint Sacrement chez les premiers cisterciens (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," *Studia eucharistica, DCCi anni a condito festo Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, 1246–1946*, ed. Stephanus Gerard Axters (Antwerpen: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1946), 132–55; Marie-Gérard Dubois, "L'Eucharistie à Cîteaux au milieu du XII^e siècle," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 67 (2005): 266–86; Marsha Dutton, "Eat, Drink and Be Merry. The Eucharistic Spirituality of the Cistercian Fathers. Erudition at God's Service," in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* XI, (ed.) John R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies 98 (Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 1–31.

17 Albert Mirgeler, *Mutations of Western Christianity*, trans. Edward Quinn (London: Burns & Oates, Compass Books, 1964), 55–6 and 61–5.

18 Hontoir, "La dévotion au Saint Sacrement," 133.

progress in their faith.[19] The abbot of Clairvaux provides a mystical interpretation of the Eucharist and treats the *res sacramenti*, that is the effect of the sacrament itself, as the union of the faithful with God. He insists that to ensure this union, the believer needs to dedicate himself to the spiritual practices based on reflection over the memory of the Passion. Thus, to transform the love of God into lived experience (which, according to the Cistercians, was the meaning of the Eucharist) would mean to create at least a virtual narrative. In my opinion, this emphasis on rumination on the experience of the Eucharist is what prompted the blossoming of stories of Eucharistic miracles in the Cistercian circles.

The Dialogical Framework: Theologies in Interaction

Even if the *DM* is usually described as a simple if not simplistic work, this does not mean that it lacks in theoretical elaboration. Caesarius inscribes the narrative in the dialogical framework that guides the process of reading. The conversation between the Monk and the Novice reminds us especially of the monastic dialogues that are characterised, as Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann points out, by a close relationship between the exemplary story and the doctrine. Thus, in Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* "the doctrine is visualised by the story, and through the commentaries to the story, the doctrine is developed."[20] In the dialogical framework of the *DM*, we expect to find formulae of the Cistercian fathers (at least those of Bernard of Clairvaux) or patristic citations which can

19 Jean Leclercq, *Saint Bernard et l'esprit cistercien* (Paris: Seuil, 1966), 96. For other Cistercian authors, for example, William of St Thierry, see Matthieu Rougé, *Doctrine et expérience de l'Eucharistie chez Guillaume de Saint-Thierry* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1999). Unlike Bernard, Guillaume particularly stresses the distinction between the spiritual manducation of Christ's flesh (*manducatio spiritualis corporis Christi*) and the carnal manducation of the body of the Lord (*corporalis manducatio corporis Domini*). Insisting on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he underlines the value of the spiritual communion which consists in the desire to receive the Body and the Blood of the Saviour and in the preparation of this act of receiving. According to Guillaume, we have to remind ourselves of the passion and resurrection of Christ very often in order to attach ourselves to God by the ties of divine love and to commune in an appropriate and dignified fashion with His body that is offered to us on the altar. Spiritual communion becomes the image of Christian life and especially the life of monks who, too, offer themselves every day as a sacrifice to God.

20 "La doctrine est visualisée par le récit et, commentant les récits, la doctrine est développée" (Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, "Dialogue littéraire et récit exemplaire dans la littérature monastique de Sulpice Sévère à Grégoire le Grand," in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire du Moyen Âge*, (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 2012), 55–68, here p. 65).

be found everywhere in white monks' theological works. In reality, in order to support the framework of the dialogue, Caesarius often turns to pre-scholastic works, especially those of Peter Lombard and Peter of Poitiers, whose texts he sometimes quotes word for word. In this respect, the clear and precise argumentation of the Monk who sometimes uses the scholastic technique of division brings the *DM* considerably closer to many theoretical treatises and university *disputationes*.[21]

The first chapter of *Distinctio* IX summarises the Eucharistic doctrine and is to a large extent inspired by Book IV of Peter Lombard's *Sententiarum libri quatuor* (*Distinctio* VIII, 4) and by Book V of Peter of Poitiers' *Sententiarum libri quinque* (Chapter 10). Below is an excerpt from the *DM* that puts into dialogue a corresponding passage of Peter Lombard's book which gives an ecclesial reading of the Eucharist.

Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, **IX, 1**	**Peter Lombard,** *Sententiarum libri quatuor*, **IV, 8, 4**
Audi tamen breviter quae maiores nostri de illo senserunt. Tria sunt in sacramento hoc consideranda, **unum quod tantum est sacramentum; alterum, quod est sacramentum et res; tertium, quod est res et non sacramentum.** Novicius: Quid est **sacramentum** tantum? Monachus: **Species visibilis panis et vini.** Novicius: Quid est **sacramentum et res?** Monachus: **Caro Christi propria et sanguis.** Novicius: Quid est **res et non sacramentum**? Monachus: **Mystica Christi caro**, Ecclesiae scilicet unitas.[22]	Sunt ergo hic tria distinguenda: **unum, quod tantum est sacramentum; alterum, quod est sacramentum et res; et tertium, quod est res et non sacramentum. Sacramentum** et non res, est **species visibilis panis et vini**; **sacramentum et res, caro Christi propria et sanguis; res et non sacramentum, mystica ejus caro**.[23]

21 Victoria Smirnova, "Le *Dialogus miraculorum* de Césaire de Heisterbach: le dialogue comme axe d'écriture et de lecture," in *Formes dialoguées*, 195–218. On the rendition of the Christian doctrine in dialogue form as a school exercise, see Peter von Moos "Le dialogue latin au Moyen Âge: l'exemple d'Evrard d'Ypres," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 4 (1989): 993–1028, esp. p. 995.

22 Listen to a brief account of what our ancestors thought about it. In this sacrament, one needs to consider three things. First, what is the sacrament alone; second, what is the

Having listened to the exposition of the scholastic doctrine of the Eucharist, the Novice asks the Monk to explain the four points of the doctrine with the help of examples:

> Primum est quod sub specie panis sit verum corpus Christi natum ex Virgine; secundum, quod sub specie vini sit verus eius sanguis; tertium, quod digne conficientes sive communicantes mereantur gratiam, indigne autem poenam. (Firstly, the real body of the Christ who is born to the Virgin is present in the form of bread. Secondly, his real blood is present in the form of wine. Thirdly, those who celebrate and commune in a dignified manner are worthy of grace and [in the fourth place] those who do it in an undignified manner merit punishment: IX, 1.)

These questions, often discussed by the Cistercian fathers, are presented in the form of stories throughout *Distinctio* IX. Thus, Chapters 2–16 are dedicated to the real presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist; Chapters 17–25 – to the real presence of his blood; Chapters 26–52 – to the rewards of the devotion to the host; and finally, Chapters 53–66 – to the punishments of the indecent behaviour of bad priests and of those who receive Holy Communion. The final chapter, by contrast, tells the story of a pious monk who, having torn a corporal (the cloth that covers the altar) by accident found it miraculously restored some time later.

At various points in *Distinctio* IX, Caesarius resorts to scholastic argumentation, especially in order to resolve controversial questions concerning transubstantiation. The questions are often linked to liturgical practice: speculative theology thus joins practice-oriented theology. For example, in the non-narrative Chapter 27, the Novice asks what needs to be done if, after the consecration of bread, there is no wine in the chalice. The Monk explains the

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sacrament and the thing; third, what is the thing and not the sacrament. Novice: What is the sacrament alone? Monk: the visible species of bread and wine. Novice: What is the sacrament and thing? Monk: Christ's own flesh and blood. Novice: What is the thing and not the sacrament? Monk: The mystical flesh of Christ, that is the unity of the Church.

23 And so there are three things to distinguish here: one, which is the sacrament alone; another, which is the sacrament and the thing; a third, which is the thing and not the sacrament. The sacrament and not the thing is the visible species of bread and wine; the sacrament and thing is Christ's own flesh and blood; the thing and not the sacrament is his mystical flesh. Peter Lombard, *The Sentences, Book 4: On the Doctrine of Signs*, trans. Giulio Silano, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 48 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), 45. In this edition, this passage is in Distinction VIII, Chapter 7 (54), part 2.

mystery of the transubstantiation of the wine, referring, first of all, to the practices of the Order: "Ex consuetudine ordinis nostri cogimur credere ibi esse corpus Christi, quia benedictionem panis non repetimus, sed calicis tantum" (In conformity with the customs of our Order, we are obliged to believe that we have the body of Christ present, because we do not repeat the benediction of the bread but solely of the chalice). It is interesting to note that Caesarius does not cite Bernard of Clairvaux's words on this subject from his letter to Guy of Trois-Fontaines[24] but instead his discussion of the question is based on Peter of Poitiers's *Sententiae*:

Caesarius of Heisterbach, ***Dialogus miraculorum,*** **IX, 27**	**Peter of Poitiers,** ***Sententiarum libri quinque*****, V, 11**
Novicius: Estne in tali casu sanguis Christi? Monachus: Etiam, in corpore non in calice. Non enim corpus Christi est sine sanguine; nec tamen ibi est per conversionem, quia ante prolationem horum verborum, *Hic est sanguis*, vinum non est conversum in sanguinem.[25]	Ad hoc dicendum quod ex prolatione istorum verborum, *Hoc est corpus meum*, etc., non convertitur vinum in sanguinem, sed panis in carnem; non est tamen caro sine sanguine. Est enim ibi sanguis, sed non per conversionem, id est non est aliquid ibi conversum in sanguinem donec proferantur haec verba, *Hic est sanguis*, etc.[26]

It is possible to pinpoint other references to Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* and to Peter of Poitiers's texts. Caesarius uses them in order to elucidate questions about the communion of bad Christians (*DM* IX, 54), about the eating of the host by an animal (*DM* IX, 11), about the two Eucharistic species and their significance (*DM* IX, 27) and about the nutritional value of the host (DM IX, 46). Is this presence

24 Epistola 69 *ad Guidonem abbatem de Tribus Fontibus*, PL 182, col. 179–82.

25 Novice: In this case, is there the body of Christ? Monk: Yes, in the body, and not in the chalice. The body of Christ is not without blood. However, it does not appear through transubstantiation, since the wine is not transformed into blood before the words "This is my blood" are pronounced.

26 About this it should be said that wine is not transformed into blood as soon as the words "This is my body" are pronounced. It is the bread that is transformed into flesh; however, the flesh is not without blood. Therefore, there is blood, but not through transubstantiation, this is to say, nothing is transformed into blood before the words "This is my blood" are pronounced. PL 192, col. 1246.

of scholastic thought due to the education that Caesarius received at the Cologne cathedral school? Was it his own initiative or was it an accepted teaching practice in the Cistercian monasteries of the Rhine region? Caesarius does not explicitly cite his scholastic sources and presents Peter Lombard's and Peter of Poitiers's teachings as those of "maiores nostri." By contrast, at the end of the first introductory chapter, he refers to the *Sententiae* (in a general manner) as an authority on the theology of the Eucharist: "Haec tibi breviter dicta sufficiant, quia in sententiis de his plenius tractatur" (This brief summary will be enough for you for the moment, because these questions were explored in depth in the *Sententiae*). Since no medieval catalogues of the Heisterbach library have survived, it is impossible to say whether the *Sententiae* was among the books at the novices' disposal. The extant catalogues from other German Cistercian libraries do not exhibit a special interest in twelfth-century scholarly works; however, it seems plausible that scholastic concepts were accepted in Cistercian circles well before the intellectual turn of the second half of the thirteenth century, characterised by the foundation of a number of Cistercian colleges and the establishment of courses in philosophy and theology in every monastery.[27]

Even if Cistercian theology, as Marsha Dutton has demonstrated, was not completely devoid of rational reflection on the mystery of the Eucharist,[28] it is clear that the scholastic approach with its abstract and impersonal constructions is in many ways different from the traditional Cistercian vision.[29] Caesarius's teaching, too, is often presented as opposed to scholastics (and his

27 On the Cistercians and their interest in university teaching, see, for example, Louis J. Lekai, *Les Moines blancs. Histoire de l'ordre cistercien* (Paris: Seuil, 1957), 202–5.

28 Dutton, "Eat, Drink and Be Merry," 1.

29 On the opposition between the monastic theology and the scholastics, see Leclercq, "Saint Bernard et la théologie monastique," 10: "The monastic theology differs from the scholastics in its sources, its object, finally, in its method." ("La théologie monastique se distingue de la scolastique par ses sources, par son objet, enfin par sa méthode."); and Philippe Nouzille, *Expérience de Dieu et théologie monastique au XII^e siècle. Étude sur les sermons d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1999), 22–3: "Indeed, we have here a formal element that characterises monastic theology in relation to the scholastics. It [the monastic theology] does not proceed by questions or definitions. There is no conceptual knowledge on which to build later but the meaning itself of the words is fluctuating depending on the contexts and the association of images." ("On a effectivement là un élément formel qui caractérise la théologie monastique par rapport à la scolastique. Elle ne procède pas par questions ni par définitions. Il n'y a pas d'acquis conceptuels sur lesquels bâtir ensuite mais le sens même des termes est fluctuant, au gré des contextes et des associations d'images.")

attitude toward university studies seen as hostile),[30] to the point where it may be possible to deny, as Albert Hauck does, any scholastic influence on his work.[31] One could argue that the dialogical framework with its scholastic elements is an artificial addition to the stories and a certain discontinuity exists between Cistercian *exempla* and the overall structure of the work. In the remaining part of this article, however, I shall demonstrate that the dialogical framework does, in fact, participate in the production of Caesarius's narrative theology on par with the embedded stories.

A more detailed analysis reveals that the two levels – theoretical and narrative – of the discourse interact with each other and contribute to the production of the Cistercian message. In the framing dialogue, the Monk and the Novice analyse the significance of the stories and the essential points of Christian doctrine in a very vivid and engaged manner. The Novice is expressing his emotions and attracting attention to controversial questions, sometimes he is telling stories himself.[32] Despite the fact that the intellectual level at which both the Monk and his interlocutor conduct the conversation is sometimes quite similar (which is an indication of the fictional nature of the dialogue), the character of the Novice proves to be complex enough for Brian Patrick McGuire to suggest that the Monk's interlocutor could have been based on a real person and was not a simple discursive tool.[33] Moreover, the dialogical framework allows Caesarius to portray an affective community that enables conversation about the intimate experience of the sacred, which conveys to the *DM* the tone of spiritual love on which the Cistercian fathers had insisted. In addition, the care taken to indicate the oral source, a feature peculiar to Caesarius, not only places his *exempla* under the authority of a person or an institution to ensure their efficiency, but also serves to accentuate the shared experience of the group and evoke the union of the believers with each other and with God. Within the context of *Distinctio* IX, the constant evocation of the sharing of tales of experience reminds us that the Eucharist is essentially "a mystery of fraternal unity and charity" ("essentiellement un mystère d'unité

30 Reinhard Schneider, "Rheinische Zisterzienser im mittelalterlichen Studienbetrieb," in *Die niederrheinischen Zisterzienser*, 121–36 and Schreiner "Caesarius von Heisterbach," 93.

31 Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903), 455.

32 On the wolf child, see Elisa Brilli's article in the present volume, p. 177.

33 Brian Patrick McGuire, "Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 167–247, here pp. 241–43.

et de charité fraternelle").[34] At the same time, this repetition helps overcome the individualism of the revelation and put it to everyone's advantage. Thus, the dialogical framework with all its scholastic implications actualises important concepts of monastic theology and contributes very efficiently to the establishment of a collective Christian identity. Caesarius attempts to give a voice to the union of the believers who share the same experience of the real presence of the body of the Saviour in the sacrament. Those who believe otherwise, as a canon of Cologne said, are heretics (*DM* IX, 56) – "Qui aliter credit, haereticus est."

Gottschalk's Programmatic Vision

As for the narrative itself, it recreates, renews and glorifies the individual experience of the Eucharistic union with God, so dear to the Cistercian fathers. The tales of the apparition of the child Jesus in the host, most probably, provide the best example. Caesarius opens the *Distinctio* by such a miracle, which gives a particular tone to the following 67 chapters.[35]

The protagonist of the *exemplum* is a certain Gottschalk (Godescalcus), a monk from Heisterbach. It is a revealing choice, since Caesarius portrays his fellow monk and thus gives homage to his own community. While celebrating a private mass on Christmas day, Gottschalk sees the host transformed into a beautiful baby just as he had pronounced the words of the introit "Puer natus est nobis" (A child is born to us). Filled with wonder, Gottschalk kisses the child and puts him on the altar. In order not to interrupt the celebration, the Saviour assumes the form of bread once again. One day, the visionary speaks about this experience to a group of his fellow monks (including Caesarius himself) but without admitting that it was he himself who had seen the vision. Later Gottschalk reveals his vision to two priests, Dietrich of Lureke and Constantin. However, the transmission of the story does not end there. Gottschalk falls ill and brother Winand, the infirmarian of the monastery, decides to exploit his condition to get some answers: "Good brother Gottschalk, did you see the

34 Henri de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 2010), 389.

35 On the importance of the first tale of the collection of *exempla*, see Stefano Mula, "Les *exempla* cisterciens du Moyen Âge, entre philologie et histoire," in *L'œuvre littéraire du Moyen Âge aux yeux de l'historien et du philologue*, (eds.) Ludmilla Evdokimova and Victoria Smirnova (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 377–92. It is the same Gottschalk who is the protagonist of the final chapter of *Distinctio* IX.

Saviour during mass? And when he simply said yes, the infirmarian added: In what form? In the form, he replied, of a child. And the infirmarian: What did you do with Him? Godescalc replied: Kissed Him on the lips. To which Winand: What happened then? I, he said, put Him on the altar, and after He had assumed His previous form, consumed Him." Finally, Gottschalk confesses this to Abbot Henry.[36] This series of exchanges clearly demonstrates how a private and intimate experience of union with God is being told several times in order to unite a community and establish its values.[37]

In this programmatic miracle, we find several other elements pertinent to the discussion of Cistercian theology. The narrativisation of the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist also develops the idea, so dear to William of St Thierry, that the Eucharist and the Incarnation are organised in the same way.[38] The incarnation of Jesus is being recreated and renewed in a precise liturgical context: the introit "A child is born to us" is presented in all the efficiency of a performative act. Through this *mise-en-scène* of the Cistercian theology, we perceive an almost maternal tenderness in the visionary's behaviour. Gottschalk is active. He does not remain immobile, not daring to touch the sacrament. He takes the child in his arms; he embraces and caresses him.[39] This makes one think of Caroline Walker Bynum's analysis,

36 The full text is provided in the Apendix.

37 See also McGuire, "Oral sources," 168–70.

38 Matthieu Rougé, *Doctrine et expérience*, 278. See also Dutton, "Eat, Drink and Be Merry," 11. Cf. also one of Caesarius's own homilies: "Et uenerunt festinantes, et inuenerunt Mariam et Ioseph, et infantem positum in presepio. Tres hic commemorantur persone: primo Maria, secundo Ioseph, nouissime Iesus. Intelligimus ergo, sicut sepe dictum est, Mariam mentem caritate lucidam, Ioseph iustitiam, Iesum, ut est, ipsam Eucharistiam" (They went there hastily, and they found Mary and Joseph and the little child lying in the crib. Here, three people are being commemorated. Firstly, Mary; secondly, Joseph; and finally, Jesus. By Mary we mean, as we have said several times, reason illuminated by charity, by Joseph – justice; and by Jesus – the Eucharist): *Fasciculus moralitatis venerabilis fr. Caesarii Heisterbacensis*, (ed.) Johannes Andreas Coppenstein, vol. 1 (Cologne: Peter Henning, 1615), 58.

39 This passage echoes Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*: "locatoque in presepi paruulo, erumpe in uocem exultationis, clamas cum Isaia: *Paruulis natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis.* Amplectere dulce illud praesepium, uincat uerecundiam amor, timorem depellat affectus, ut sacramentissimis pedibus figas labia, et oscula gemines" (When the infant is laid in the manger break out into words of exultant joy together with Isaiah and cry: "A child has been born to us, a son is given to us." Embrace that sweet manger, let love overcome your reluctance, affection drive out fear. Put your lips to those most sacred feet, kiss them again and again). *Aelredi Rievallensis opera omnia*, (eds.) Anselm Hoste and Charles Hugh Talbot, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 1 (Turnhout:

with particular stress on Cistercian spirituality, of maternal traits in the representations of Jesus and, by extension, of the abbot.[40] I would like to add that in the Eucharistic context, maternal imagery deepens the personal dimension of the mystery. It invites the communicant to relive the new birth of Christ in his heart and, through this, to become mother to Christ.[41] This theology is not expressed in the dialogical framework where we would expect Caesarius to discuss his theoretical ideas through the medium of the Monk's commentaries on the *exempla*. Instead, the author of the *DM* chooses to articulate the theological points discussed above within the narrative itself which allows him to share with his audience profoundly Cistercian ideas about God's love for humans and their affectionate response to it.

In order to gain a better understanding of Caesarius's theology, we can compare Gottschalk's vision with the visions from *De miraculis*, a Cluny collection that Peter the Venerable continued to work on until the end of his life († 1156). It is telling that Peter opens his collection with a Eucharistic miracle, a vision of a peasant who wanted to use a host as a magical charm to protect his bees. When the host is transformed into an apparently dead child, the frightened peasant picks the child up and wants to take him to the church and bury him there in secrecy, but the child disappears.[42] It is certain that the peasant is guilty of sacrilege, and the vision has nothing intimate or reassuring about it. But even in those stories where visions with a positive message are described,

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Brepols, 1971), 663–64. The English translation is cited from Dutton, "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry," 11.

40 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

41 Cf. "Si spiritualis quisque, ut dictum est, efficitur mater Christi, potest etiam effici mater proximi" (If a spiritual person, as we have said, becomes mother of Christ, this person can also be the mother of the persons close to him or her): Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Fasciulus moralitatum*, 1:9. As Edouard Dumoutet points out, "the study of the liturgical texts of the Advent reveals that, from its origin, the cycle contained a complex symbolic meaning: these texts were directing the devotion of the believers not only toward the moment of Christ's birth, but also toward the second Coming of Christ and the spiritual advent of the Saviour into the souls" ("L'étude des textes liturgiques de l'Avent décèle que, dès l'origine, le cycle comportait une grande complexité de symbolisme: ce n'était pas seulement vers la naissance historique de Jésus à Bethleem que ces textes orientaient la piété, c'était aussi vers l'avènement du Christ au dernier jour et la venue spirituelle du Sauveur dans les âmes"). Edouard Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair et la vie liturgique au Moyen Âge* (Sceaux: Société centrale d'imprimerie; Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et ses fils, éditeurs, 1932), 82.

42 *Petri Cluniacensis abbatis De miraculis libri duo*, (ed.) Denise Bouthillier, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 7–8.

the visionary, however devout and respectful, is petrified by fear. Chapter 8 of the same book recounts the visions of a monk named Gerard, a chaste man, modest and full of devotion for the sacrament of the Eucharist. Having seen the child on the altar, this Gerard, overtaken by fear and wonder, looks at the Saviour without knowing what to do. Only when the Virgin Mary appears to him, Gerard is filled with inexpressible joy.[43] Peter does not mention a single kind gesture of affection on the part of the visionary; there is no question of establishing an affectionate relationship between God and the believer in this story. Peter the Venerable's narrative theology is constructed in a very different way to Caesarius's. In the opening miracle of *De miraculis*, as Peter Crame has shown, "the language and the story combine to give an impression not of the physicality of the host, as in many Eucharistic miracles, but of its strangeness, or uncanniness, and its proneness to disappear."[44]

Gottschalk's vision clearly stresses the intimate dimension of the Eucharist. In fact, when Caesarius's text is presenting the Eucharistic experience as that of personal union with God, it is expressing emotions rather than developing arguments based on *auctoritates* in theology. When emotions are translated into narrative in this way, it encourages the audience to imagine an experience that is by its nature inexpressible and makes the listener or the reader engage with the story. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Caesarius is attempting to describe and evoke feelings in order to communicate a theological message.[45] Gottschalk's vision is presented as a joyful one, and it is this joy that the priest who has doubts about transubstantiation fails to experience (*DM* IX, 3): "Nec miror si sic perspicue et tam iocunde sicut Godescalcus eum videre non potuit" (It does not surprise me that he could not see it as clearly and as joyfully

43 "Et ecce, stupeo referens, formam quidem panis, quem altari imposuerat non uidit, paruum uero puerulum, manibus et brachiis more infantie gestientem pro eo conspexit. Hesit itaque conspiciens, debito timore turbatus, et nesciens quid ageret, ad inusitatum et celeste spectaculum tremens admirabatur" (And thus – I am astonished to be reporting this – he no longer saw the form of the bread on the altar but at its place he noticed a very small child who was moving his hands and arms in the way of babies. Dumbfounded, he looked, overtaken by fear, as he should have been, and not knowing what to do as he was in a state of wonder, shivering, at this unusual and celestial spectacle): *De miraculis libri duo*, 28.

44 Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 254.

45 On the emotional register of the *DM*, see Victoria Smirnova, "And Nothing Will Be Wasted: Actualization of the Past in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*," in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Lucie Doležalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 253–65, esp. pp. 257–58.

as Gottschalk). Nevertheless, this priest is granted a complex vision charged with theological significance: in the host he sees the Virgin holding the Child, then a lamb and finally a crucifix. This vision is as moving as it is effective for the purposes of conversion, so much so that when the priest, in tears, relates it to the people,[46] fifty men take the cross after listening to his story. A little later, in Chapter 32, Caesarius tells the story of a priest who felt such intense emotions when he was celebrating mass that his chest seemed about to break: "tam vehementes motus nonnunquam in corde eius devotio excitavit, ut pectus dirumpi videretur" (sometimes devotion provoked such a strong feeling in his heart that his chest seemed to break). The priest's ardent devotion ensured the dignified celebration of the sacrament, as the Novice summarises it: "Puto quod valde mundis manibus sacrificent, qui tam flammeum pectus habent" (I think that those whose heart is so inflamed must celebrate with clean hands). This physical expression of emotion can also be observed in the case of lay people, for example a woman named Richmundis (DM IX, 34) whose devotion to the Eucharist was so ardent that she often swooned, "nunc mentis excessum, nunc corporis defectum incurrens, ita ut dicere posset cum Jeremia: Factus est quasi ignis flammigerans in ossibus meis, et defeci, sufferre non sustinens" (as much due to a state of ecstasy as because of physical weakness, so that she could say with Jeremiah: "But it was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I couldn't stand it," Cf. Jr 20, 9).

The Cistercians' affective theology can easily be seen in the *DM*. According to Bernard, God is love, and His arrival among men in the form of Jesus Christ can only be explained by love. Caesarius of Heisterbach, like the Cistercian fathers, invites his readers to marvel at God's love for his creation. The believers respond to the expression of this love with pious acts of perfect charity, which inspire the desire to go to Communion more often. However, despite the emphasis on the desire for the Eucharist, Caesarius almost never talks about spiritual communion without corporeal communion, a topic which had been important for both William of St Thierry and Peter of Poitiers. It is only in Chapters 24 and 25 that spiritual communion is discussed. In Chapter 24, a sick layman asks a priest who had recently celebrated mass to wash his hands in water so that the ailing man can then drink this water as a medicine. Later he discovers that water had turned into blood. This means, Caesarius explains, that "eundem sanguinem quem sacerdos quotidie sumit in ecclesia sacramentaliter, fidelis quisque in omni loco possit sumere spiritualiter" (the

46 Gottschalk, too, celebrates mass in tears. On tears and the sacrament of the Eucharist, see Piroska Nagy, "Larmes et eucharistie: formes du sacrifice en Occident au Moyen Âge central," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie*, 2:1073–110.

same blood that the priest receives every day in church in the sacramental manner, any faithful can receive at any moment and in the spiritual manner). Chapter 45 is dedicated to a lay brother whose exceptional piety compensated for the fact that he was deprived of the host. In other cases, an ardent desire for Communion makes the believer worthy of receiving a sacramental Communion from Christ himself. The reality of the Communion is demonstrated by the fact that the host is absent from the pyx (Chapters 35, 36, 37, 38). Thus, Eucharistic devotion leads to a more frequent Communion. In the *DM*, we not only observe a narrativisation of theological concepts and liturgical practices but also theologisation of the narrative. Ritual remembrances, beliefs and theological discussion are interlaced within the *exempla* to produce new meanings and to make Cistercian persuasion effective.

Beliefs and Monastic Practices Surrounding the Eucharist

As Jean-Claude Schmitt points out in his book *Les revenants. Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale*, the static notion of 'belief' (*croyance*) should be replaced by the idea of an active 'believing' (*croire*) and its different aspects need to be examined.[47] Thus, "to believe in ghosts meant to talk about them and to talk a lot, and also to create images of them. [...] It also meant to try to persuade others in their existence".[48] When discussing believing as a social act, we need to bear in mind the institutional treatment of any texts on the subject. It is the institution that makes itself the guarantor of beliefs, which selects them, gives them the form of the doctrine and organises them in concrete practices.[49] This institutional dimension is rarely discussed in the scholarly studies dedicated the beliefs that we find in the *DM*, especially the so-called 'popular beliefs'. Indeed, the study of these beliefs helps us understand the world view of the 'silent majority' better; however, as a rule, researchers have a tendency to consider them outside of the Cistercian context in which the stories were pro-

47 Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants. Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris, Bibliothèque des Histoires, Gallimard, 1994), 19.

48 "croire aux revenants c'était parler d'eux et d'abondance et en faire des images. [...] C'était aussi chercher à 'faire croire' en eux." Schmitt, *Les revenants*, 21.

49 Michel de Certeau, "Une pratique sociale de la différence: croire" in *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome en collaboration avec l'Institut d'histoire médiévale de l'Université de Padoue*, (ed.) André Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 380–81.

duced, leaving out the monks' own beliefs and ideology. In this article, I would like to stress the practices and behaviours in which the Eucharistic beliefs were embodied,[50] in order better to define the Cistercian ways of believing and making believe, as well as their institutional context.[51] My aim is also to show the ways in which the *DM* served as the mediator between popular practices of believing and the institution of the white monks, promoting what Jean-Claude Schmitt calls "figures of compromise" between Christian dogma and popular culture.[52]

First of all, the Eucharistic belief forms an integral part of the life of the community and functions in a liturgical context, since to believe in transubstantiation implied participation in the celebration of the mass and in the Communion received and given (for the monks-priests). The liturgical practices regulate the passing of days in the monastery. They are strictly codified by the statutes and customaries such as the twelfth-century *Ecclesiastica officia*.[53] The reading of the *DM* in the perspective of the *Officia* and other legal texts gives an idea of the institutional framework of the dynamic notion of believing as it is expressed in Caesarius's text. For example, Gottschalk's famous vision took place during the celebration of a private mass, in other words, a mass celebrated by the priest alone, without the participation of the faithful.[54] As the *Officia* make it clear, the brothers could say mass privately during the reading of the Scripture and after the offertory of the conventional mass, even

50 Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *La Religion pour mémoire* (Paris: Cerf, 1993), 9.

51 Michel de Certeau, "Le croyable. Préliminaires à une anthropologie des croyances," in *Exigence et perspectives de la sémiotique: Recueil d'hommages pour A. J. Greimas*, (eds.) Herman Parret and Hans-George Ruprecht (Amsterdam: John Benjamins publishing company, 1985), 689–707, see esp. p. 703: "In religion as in advertising, the act of believing is pragmatic. It is situated at the intersection of a statement (of the type: I believe x) and an effectuation. It connects the words to the deeds. Reciprocally, there is no more *believing* where *doing* is no longer present." ("Dans la religion comme dans la publicité, l'acte de croire est pragmatique. Il se situe à la jointure d'un énoncé (du type: je crois x) et d'une effectuation. Il embraie un dire sur un faire. Réciproquement, il n'y a plus de croire, là où un faire n'est plus engagé.")

52 On the notion of the "figure of compromise" (*figure de compromis*), see Jean-Claude Schmitt, "*Les superstitions*," in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, (eds.) Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond, vol. 1 (Paris: Seuil, 1988), 417–551.

53 *Les "Ecclesiastica officia" cisterciens du XII^e siècle*, (eds.) Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet (Reiningue: Abbaye d'Oelenberg, 1989).

54 See Cyrille Vogel, "Une mutation cultuelle inexpliquée: le passage de l'eucharistie communautaire à la messe privée," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 54, no. 3 (1980), 231–50, esp. p. 234.

during Lent, except the Wednesday at the beginning of the fasting period.[55] Two witnesses had to be present during the celebration of a private mass, one of whom was expected to be a cleric so that he could help during the celebration. When he was granted his vision, Gottschalk was not alone, there were other participants of the mass whose reactions he took into account: "Timens tamen moram propter circumstantes" (Fearing delay, for the sake of those present . . .). Certainly, in the context of a private mass, the Eucharist is presented first of all as a spiritual exercise ensuring personal union with God;[56] however, there is always a certain amount of control on the part of the community. The monastic belief should therefore be regarded within the context of the dialectics of the social and the personal.

To believe in the Eucharist meant to celebrate mass as it should be celebrated, in a dignified and appropriate manner, in conformity with the rule. To use Miri Rubin's observation, in the domain of Eucharistic miracles "every area of inaction, restriction and practice, and every custom, ritual and demand which could be mistaken, neglected, misunderstood or manipulated, was countered by an appropriate tale."[57] Caesarius himself stresses the qualities and the behaviour of the priest celebrating mass, as is witnessed by the example of the narrative chapter entitled *Qualis esse debeat vita sacerdotum* (How the life of priests should be: *DM* IX, 26). The refusal of some priests to believe in the real presence of the body and the blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist is often translated into their negligent attitude and even into sacrilegious practices. As the Novice puts it: "Si mali sacerdotes Christi corpus in altari ut mihi videtur crederent, nunquam talia praesumerent" (If the bad priests believed that the body of Christ were on the altar, they would never do such things: *DM* IX, 55). A priest who wanted to use the host as a charm (*DM* IX, 6) is unable to leave the church. Terrified, he buries the host in a corner. He does, however, end up confessing his sin to another priest, and the latter digs the host out and finds it transformed into a small man, crucified and bleeding. When the Novice hears this story, he exclaims: "Si sacerdotes omnes talia audirent, auditisque crederent, puto quod plus quam modo deifica sacramenta honorarent!" (If all priests could listen to such words and believe them, I think that they would honour the divine sacrament better than they do these days!) We should not underestimate the important role the monks-priests played as the addressees

55 *Ecclesiastica officia*, 181. The private masses were sung in the transept.

56 Vogel, "Une mutation cultuelle," 241. On the Cistercians and private masses, see Jacques Dubois, "Office des heures et messe dans la tradition monastique," *La Maison-Dieu* 135 (1978), 61–82.

57 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 128.

and promoters of the teaching about the Eucharist as part of the Cistercian effort of persuasion and 'making believe' (*faire croire*), because it went beyond the limits of monastic teaching. This may well be one of the reasons behind the considerable popularity of the *DM* in the canonical circles (at least 14 manuscripts of the *DM* belonged to Regular Canons).

To believe in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ also meant to teach it to the novices, talk about it to one's brothers and disseminate this narrative theology outside of the monastery. Cistercian *believing* thus attaches great significance to the word. Caesarius often allows us to hear the voices of his fellow monks[58] and his narrative style can give the impression that monks, novices and guests at the abbey could converse frequently and freely. However, it is well known that the Cistercians were famous for their strict observance of the rule of silence. We may wonder how and under what circumstances members of a silent community could have discussions about their beliefs. Once again, the *Officia* provide us with valuable information, indicating when and how the brothers could speak to each other.

Under certain conditions the monks could enter the parlour located next to the chapter where they could converse. This parlour was reserved to the prior, whereas another parlour, situated next to the kitchen, was a place where the cellarer talked with the novices. As a master of novices, Caesarius occupied a privileged position; the *Officia* indicate that the master of novices had the right to talk in the parlour not only to novices in the first two months of their noviciate but also to visiting monks.[59] Thus a friendly and frequent conversation on spiritual matters ("amica et frequens de spiritualibus collocutio") between the novice and his master, advised by Adam of Perseigne,[60] was regulated by very strict rules. Like the parlour, the infirmary was another place where the obligation of silence could be relaxed. In the *Officia*, we read that in order to be able to serve his patients better, the infirmarian was allowed to talk to them.[61] This rule explains why it was the infirmarian at Heisterbach who asked Gottschalk questions about his Eucharistic vision.

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58 See "Traces d'oralité dans les recueils d'*exempla* cisterciens," in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication*, (ed.) Steven Vanderputten, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 21 (Tournout: Brepols, 2011), 139–57.

59 *Ecclesiastica officia*, 318. See also Terryl Nancy Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation.* Cistercian Studies Series, 191 (Grand Rapids, MI, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002), 269.

60 Adam of Peseigne, Letter 5.55. PL 211, col. 584.

61 *Ecclesiastica officia*, 269. Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, 361–62.

The topics of conversation were also strictly regulated. In 1232, around ten years after the composition of the *DM*, the General Chapter published a statute against illicit conversations. From it we learn that the monks were only allowed to speak about miracles of saints, pronounce edifying words or evoke topics that serve the salvation of the soul.[62] To talk about faith was one of the few acceptable ways for the brothers to communicate with each other and thus to discuss feelings, maintain friendships and, ultimately, to construct Cistercian identity.[63] In the context of these conversations between monks, stories from the outside world (either told by visitors or collected by monks such as Caesarius when they ventured outside the monastery walls) also formed part of the social act of Cistercian believing. Therefore the *DM*, at once focused on the day-to-day lives of the Cistercians and open to the world, reflects the pragmatic goals of the Order very well.

Conclusion

A further analysis of the narrative theology in the other *distinctiones* of the *DM* will help elucidate other theological aspects of Caesarius's writing. It is, however, still possible at this stage to stress the key ideas that shape the narrative theology not only of *Distinctio* IX but of the whole of the *DM*. Most importantly, it is the use of the scholastic discourse. Without mentioning them by name, Caesarius borrows from scholastic authors not only the techniques of distinction and enumeration but also several concepts. Presented in the form of a dialogue between a Monk and a Novice, scholastic material is used to promote the values of an affective community and is blended with the white monks' theology. In the *DM*, the production of 'authorised' and 'systematised' knowledge about faith cannot be dissociated from the control of individual and collective emotions that together maintain the unity of the Order. When telling his stories, Caesarius of Heisterbach establishes a relationship between several theological models that reveal themselves at every level of the text, both narrative and theoretical, and, in the final analysis, form a discourse which is at the same time emotional and argumentative and in perfect agreement with the precepts of classical rhetoric that sees its goal in moving and instructing its audience.

62 Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad Annum 1786*, vol. 2 (Leuwen: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41), 101 (nr. 5).

63 On the problem of expression of feeling, see Brian Patrick McGuire, "The Cistercians and the Transformation of Monastic Friendships," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 37 (1981): 1–63, p. 9.

Appendix

De Godescalco de Volmuntsteine qui Christum sub specie infantis in manibus suis vidit (*DM IX, 2*)

Fuit apud nos monachus quidam Godescalcus nomine, de castro quidem Volmuntsteine oriundus, et in maiori ecclesia Coloniae canonicus. Ante conversionem satis exstiterat lubricus, sed bene morigeratus. Modica ei scientia litterarum inerat; sed spiritus patientiae; et pietatis ad magnam vitae perfectionem illum provexerat. Hic cum ante hos sex annos in die Natalis Domini ad privatum quoddam altare missam cum multa devotione et lacrimis ut ei moris erat inchoasset, scilicet, "Puer natus est nobis," factaque esset transsubstantiatio, non iam in manibus suis speciem panis, sed infantem pulcherrimum, imo speciosissimum illum forma prae filiis hominum, in quem et angeli prospicere concupiscunt, tenuit et vidit. Cuius caritate succensus, et mira pulchritudine delectatus, complexus est eum ac deosculatus. Timens tamen moram propter circumstantes, super corporale dilectum posuit, et ille ut missa perfici posset formam sacramentalem resumpsit. Quamdiu beatus ille vidit speciem infantis, nullam ibi vidit speciem panis, et econverso. Qui cum nescio cui visionem revelasset, tacita persona sua, et ille aliis, quodam die de auctore tantae visionis interrogatus, me audiente respondit: Certissime illa die Christus hic visus est; et nihil plus dicere voluit. Postea duobus sacerdotibus, Theoderico scilicet de Lureke et Constantino, visionem revelavit. Quod intelligens Winandus infirmarius noster, posito eo in infirmitorio, ait: Bone frater Godescalce, vidistis in missa Salvatorem? Respondente illo simpliciter, etiam; adiecit: In quali forma? In forma, inquit, infantis. Et ille: Quid fecistis ei? Respondit: Osculatus sum eum ante os suum. Ad quod Winandus: Et quid postea actum est? Ego, ait, super, altare eum posui, et reverso eo in formam priorem, sumpsi illum. Eadem moriens confessus est Abbati nostro domino Henrico. Novicius: Gloriosa sunt quae dicis. Sed miror si talia aliquando revelantur etiam malis sacerdotibus. Monachus: Sicut bonis ad bonitatis remunerationem, ita nonnunquam Dominus malis sacerdotibus se ostendere dignatur ad correctionem. Verbi causa.

Of Gottschalk of Volmarstein who saw Christ in the form of a child in his hands.

There was among us a certain monk named Gottschalk, native of the town Volmarstein, canon of the Cologne cathedral. Before his conversion he was a light-headed but rather compliant man. His learning was modest, but the spirit of humility and piety led him to a greater perfection in life. When, six years ago, on Christmas day he started celebrating a private mass at a certain altar, with much devotion and tears, as was his habit, he said: "A child is born to us"; and transubstantiation took place, he saw that he was not holding the form of bread but a most beautiful child, beautiful above the sons of men on whom the angels desire to look. Moved by love and delighted by

His wonderful beauty, he embraced and kissed Him. But, fearing delay, for the sake of those present, he put the child on the corporal, and for the mass to take place, the child assumed the sacramental form. And when this blessed man was seeing the form of a child, he was not seeing the form of bread, and vice versa. He told this vision (but I do not know to whom he told it), without mentioning himself, and that person told the others. And so one day they started asking him questions to find out who had been granted this vision, and he, I heard it myself, replied: It is absolutely certain that that day Christ revealed himself; but he did not want to add anything else. Later he revealed his vision to two priests, Dietrich of Lureke and Constantine. Our infirmarian Winand learned about the vision and asked Gottschalk, when the latter was in the infirmary: Good brother Gottschalk, did you see the Saviour during mass? And when he simply said yes, the infirmarian added: In what form? In the form, he replied, of a child. And the infirmarian: What did you do with Him? Godescalc replied: Kissed Him on the lips. To which Winand: What happened then? I, he said, put Him on the altar, and after He had assumed His previous form, consumed Him. On his deathbed, Gottschalk told this to our abbot Henry during confession. Novice: You are telling of glorious things. I am wondering if even bad priests can have such revelations. Monk: In the same way as for the good ones as a reward for their kindness, God reveals Himself to bad priests for the sake of their reformation. Here is another example. [Further examples are provided in the next chapter of the *DM.* – *V.S.*]

CHAPTER 6

Exempla and Historiography. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines's Reading of Caesarius's *Dialogus miraculorum*

Stefano Mula

In 1229, only a few years after Caesarius of Heisterbach wrote his *Dialogus Miraculorum* (*DM* henceforth), Cistercian monks at Clairvaux were already at work copying and abridging it. The earliest extant catalogues of the monastery library mention only two manuscripts of the *DM*, both from the fifteenth century, but two earlier, partial copies made at Clairvaux still survive,[1] both preserved in the Laurenziana Library in Florence.[2] The two collections of excerpts offer a glimpse into the early reception of Caesarius's work and provide insights into how the *exempla* were read and understood inside the Cistercian Order. In this article, I will show that the *DM* could have been read by contemporaries not only as an effective didactic tool, but also as a source of historical data.

The compilers of the two collections seem to have worked independently, and we know the name of one them, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines.[3] Alberic is the

1 *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, vol. 1, *Catalogues et répertoires*, (ed.) André Vernet with the collaboration of Jean-François Genest (Paris: CNRS, 1979). Virey's 1472 catalogue has P 30 (1313 of Vernet's catalogue, now Troyes, BM 592), which was copied under the direction of Virey himself: "Quem scribi fecit domnus Petrus de Vireyo abbas Clarevallis" (which was written on the instruction of Peter of Virey, abbot of Clairvaux, p. 231). Some fifty years later, around 1521, Mathurin de Cangey has an entry on "Cesarii monachi Dialogus de pluribus miraculis et precipue de factis in exordio Cisterciensis ordinis" (Caesarius the monk's *Dialogue* on numerous miracles and especially those that took place at the beginning of the history of the Cistercian Order), which, Vernet suggests, should be identified either with P 30 or with ms. Troyes, BM 641. Two copies of the *DM* are listed in the 1664 catalogue, n° 421 and 465. The surviving copies in mss. Troyes, BM 592 and BM 641 both date to the fifteenth century.

2 The two works are included in the composite manuscript, originally from Clairvaux and now in Florence, Laurenziana, Fondo Ashburnham, 1906. See below for the description of the relevant sections.

3 For information on Alberic, Paul Scheffer-Boichorst's Introduction to the 1874 edition of the *Chronica* remains useful to this day: "Chronica Alberici monachi Trium Fontium a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata," in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Series Scriptorum 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 631–73. See also Mireille Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois

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author of a vast universal chronicle (*Chronica*), for which he consulted a wide range of sources including charters and epic poems.[4] Scholars also pointed out many references to literary works, which Alberic considered an integral part of his historical narrative and used to buttress and support his chronology. For Alberic, who incorporated *exempla* and other literary texts in his *Chronica*, they were reliable historical sources.

Before moving to Trois-Fontaines (the exact date of his move is unknown), Alberic was at Clairvaux, where he composed what is commonly referred to as the *Chronicon Clarevallense*, which is preserved in a unique manuscript, probably an autograph.[5] The *Chronicon* contains not only a chronological list of events related to the history of the abbey of Clairvaux, it also provides a wealth of information on the contents of the abbey library and the life and deeds of contemporary religious figures. It is, moreover, a work in progress, as the entry under the year 1188 clearly indicates: "Hic potest inseri relatio fratris Cesarii de sermone quem habuit laicus monachus ad hunc cardinalem" (Here can be inserted brother Caesarius's report of the speech given by the lay monk to this cardinal).[6]

This passage is absent from the seventeenth-century edition, now in the *Patrologia Latina.* The Jesuit François Chifflet did not include most of the passages containing *exempla* and visions in his edition, probably dismissing them as fiction. Alberic, however, had no such qualms, and did consider visions, miracles and exemplary stories worthy of appearing in his historical work. In fact, he followed up on his note in the later *Chronica*. In the entry for the same year 1188, albeit in a slightly shortened form compared to Strange's

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Fontaines: un historien entre la France et l'Empire," *Annales de l'Est* 36 (1984): 136–92; Stefano Mula, "Looking for an Author: Alberic of Trois Fontaines and the *Chronicon Clarevallense*," *Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 60 (2009): 5–25.

4 *Chronica Alberici monachi Trium Fontium*, 631–950. Two articles by André Moisan deal with Alberic's literary sources: André Moisan, "Aubri de Trois Fontaines à l'écoute des chanteurs de geste," *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin, Actes du IX^e^ Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude de l'épopée romane, Padoue-Venise, 29 août–4 septembre 1982*, (ed.) Alberto Limentani (Modena: Mucchi, 1984), 2: 949–76; André Moisan, "Aubri de Trois Fontaines et la matière de Bretagne," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 31 (1988): 37–42.

5 Edition in Stefano Mula, "Il cosiddetto *Chronicon Clarevallense.* Edizione dal ms Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1906," *Herbertus* V, no. 4 (2005): 5–48. An earlier, incomplete edition of the *Chronicon* was published by the Jesuit François Chifflet in 1660 in *S. Bernardi Claraevallensis abbatis genus illustre assertum*, (ed.) François Chifflet (Dijon: Philibert Chavance, 1660), 81–9, reprinted in *Patrologia Latina* 185, cols. 1247–52.

6 *Chronicon Clarevallense*, 39; *DM* IV, 79. Chifflet copied the line on his preparatory notes (Paris, BNF, Baluze 143, f. 198r, see René Paupardin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la collection Baluze* (Paris: Leroux, 1921), 152) but then crossed it out to indicate his choice not to include it in his edition.

edition of the *DM*, he inserts the exact same abridged version he copied down some years before in the collection of excerpts from the *DM,* which he called *Adbreuiatio relationum fratris Cesarii, monachi de Valle sancti Petri*.[7] It is in fact the first *exemplum* to be preceded by a date, in the same format as the one he used in the *Chronicon*.

Alberic probably wrote under the direction or at the request of his prior, whom he addresses directly twice, the first time to propose to arrange a meeting to discuss Hugues of Bonnevaux's life further; the second to explain why he does not linger on the life of Peter Monoculus.[8] The *Chronicon* is certainly a *sui generis* historical work, and it offers bibliographical information about various Cistercian authors and excerpts or summaries from their works. The first few lines immediately set the tone for what follows:

> Anno Domini MCXLVII. Beatus Bernardus abbas Clareuallis in Alemannia crucem predicauit, uirtutes multas et magnas fecit, inter quas et mortuum illum resuscitauit, de quo habetur in libro miraculorum domni Herberti (Year of the Lord 1148. Blessed Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, preached the Crusade in Germany. He accomplished many and great miracles, for example, he resurrected the man whose story is told in Dom Herbert's *Book of miracles*.)

Alberic mentions Bernard's preaching of the Crusade to highlight all the miracles that took place during this trip. For one of them he provides a very quick summary, and the indication that it can be found in Herbert of Torres's book on miracles: "de quo habetur in libro miraculorum domni Herberti" (whose story is told in Dom Herbert's *Book of miracles*).[9] The following three entries list deaths (Malachy, Bernard, Roger king of Sicily), the duration of Abbot

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7 The editor Scheffer-Boichorst did not copy the full text of the passages whose sources he was able to identify, and therefore the text of this *exemplum* is not present in the MGH edition. The comparison is thus with the manuscript Scheffer-Boichorst used as the base for the edition, Paris, BnF, lat. 4896A, where the text is on f. 206v[ab].

8 "Reliqua de uita eiusdem sancti [Hugues of Bonnevaux], domine prior, si habere uolueritis, colloquium Deo dante nobiscum habebitis" (If you would like to know the rest of the life of Hugh of Bonnevaux, Dom Prior, you will talk with us, God willing): *CC*, sub anno 1183, p. 23; "Cuius uita domne prior credo uos habere" (Whose life, Dom Prior, I think you already have): *CC*, sub anno 1186, p. 38. In both passages the underlined words are also underlined in the manuscript.

9 The story is not present in the main manuscripts of Herbert's *Liber visionum et miraculorum Clarevallensis*, but it was later incorporated in Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*, (ed.) Bruno Griesser, Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 138 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997): 93–6 (II, 19). English translation: Conrad of Eberbach, *The Great*

Robert's tenure and the year in which one of the Sardinian Judges, Gunnarius, entered Clairvaux. Alberic then writes of St Milo, quoting a reference to him he found in the *Vita* of St Norbert. He also mentions the death of Abbot Robert and the election of Fastradus in his place: [Abbot Robert] "de cuius uita et promotione miraculosa continetur in libro miraculorum domni Herberti" (of whose life and election [as abbot] wondrous things are to be found in Dom Herbert's *Book of miracles*). Herbert's collection of miracles is a source for multiple entries, and Alberic also mentions other saints' lives and many of Geoffrey of Auxerre's works. Alberic's interest in *exempla* becomes clear in the sections that have recently been edited and which contain long excerpts from the works of a fellow Cistercian monk, Gossuinus of Boulancourt: a *Libellus exemplorum*; two *Vitae*, of Ascelina and of Hemelina; the *Visio* of the priest Everard of Cologne.[10] It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that Alberic is also interested in the work of his contemporary Caesarius of Heisterbach.

Both Alberic's minor works, the *Chronicon Clarevallense* and the *Adbreuiatio*, are known thanks to a single manuscript that Léopold Delisle first described in 1886.[11] The French scholar did not dwell on the specific details of the texts contained in the manuscript, referring to Chifflet's edition for the edited sections. He was specifically concerned with its provenance, as he was tracing the trajectory of the manuscripts stolen by Guglielmo Libri and later sold, among others, to Lord Ashburnham.[12] This particular manuscript, together with others from Ashburnham's collection, was later purchased by the Italian government for the Laurenziana Library in Florence, where it is now held. Delisle noticed that another quire of the composite manuscript contained a selection of *exempla* from Caesarius's *DM* and was written in the same hand as the *Chronicon*.[13]

The manuscript in question, ms. Florence, Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1906 contains eight different works, some of which, such as John the Hermit's *Vita Bernardi*, are unique copies. Sections 5–7 concern Caesarius and contain the *Chronicon Clarevallense*, where the Cistercian is mentioned, and two collec-

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Beginning of Cîteaux, trans. Benedicta Ward and Paul Savage (Collegeville: Cistercian Publications, Liturgical Press, 2012).

10 Stefano Mula, "Gossuinus's *Vitae* of Emelina and Ascelina. Edition from Florence, Laurenziana, ms. Ashburnham 1906," *Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 62, no.1–4 (2011): 37–58.

11 Léopold Delisle, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886) 32: 98–101.

12 Alessandra Maccioni Ruju and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802–1869). Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief. A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

13 "de la même main que le cinquième des fragments contenus dans ce volume": Delisle, *Notices*, 32: 100.

tions of excerpts from the *DM*. Alberic is the author of the *Chronicon* and the second collection, while the first remains anonymous. Here is a short description of the two collections, based on Delisle's work and expanded after consulting the manuscript:

v. ff. 45–52, 212×148mm, thirteenth century, no columns, 39 to 44 lines of text per page. The quire contains the so-called *Chronicon Clarevallense*, partially edited by Chifflet (1660) and now by Mula (2005). The text is incomplete, and ends abruptly in the middle of a line ("Que cum eiusdem homini Dei animam [...]") towards the end of the *Vision* of the Priest Eberhard of Cologne. It is the autograph copy of a work that Alberic of Trois-Fontaines wrote for the unnamed prior of Clairvaux in 1229. It contains historical and bibliographical information, along with *exempla* and visions from the lost work of the Cistercian Gossuinus of Boulancourt.[14]

vi. ff. 53–62r, 210×148mm, thirteenth century, no columns, 50 to 51 lines. Excerpts from the *DM*. Inscription at f. 62v: "Liber sancte Dei genitricis Marie et beati Bernardi Clareuallis. Liber beate et virginis gloriose." The text starts *ex abrupto*, at the end of *DM* IV, 54 ("de longe venientem . . ."). It ends slightly below the middle of f. 62v, in the middle of the same *exemplum* (*DM* IV, 54) and with the words that precede those at the beginning of the quire: "exercitum candidatorum".[15] This work will henceforth be referred to as *Collectio*.

vii. ff. 63–78, 210×150mm, thirteenth century, no columns, 36 to 38 lines. A different collection of excerpts from the *DM*, written in the same hand that wrote the fifth quire containing the *Chronicon Clarevallense*. The *exempla* are organised roughly in chronological order, starting from *DM* II, 3 and ending with *DM* IX, 64. This collection includes one *exemplum* absent in Strange's edition, but listed in the catalogue of Marian miracles by Poncelet.[16] On f. 63r the same hand wrote: "Hec est adbreuiatio relationum fratris Cesarii, monachi de Valle sancti Petri." From now on: *Adbreuiatio*.

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14 Stefano Mula, "Le *Chronicon Clarevallense*, la littérature exemplaire et l'ancienne bibliothèque de Clairvaux au XIII^e^ siècle," in *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes (XII^e^–XVIII^e^ siècles)*. Actes du colloque international de Troyes, 22–24 novembre 2012, (ed.) Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

15 Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum*, (ed.) Joseph Strange (Cologne: Heberle, 1851), 1: 221.

16 Edition in Mula, "Looking for an Author," 24. Albert Poncelet, "Index miraculorum B. V. Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt," *Analecta Bollandiana* 21 (1902): 242–360. The miracle is in n. 1782, and the reference is to National Library of Luxemburg, ms. 100.

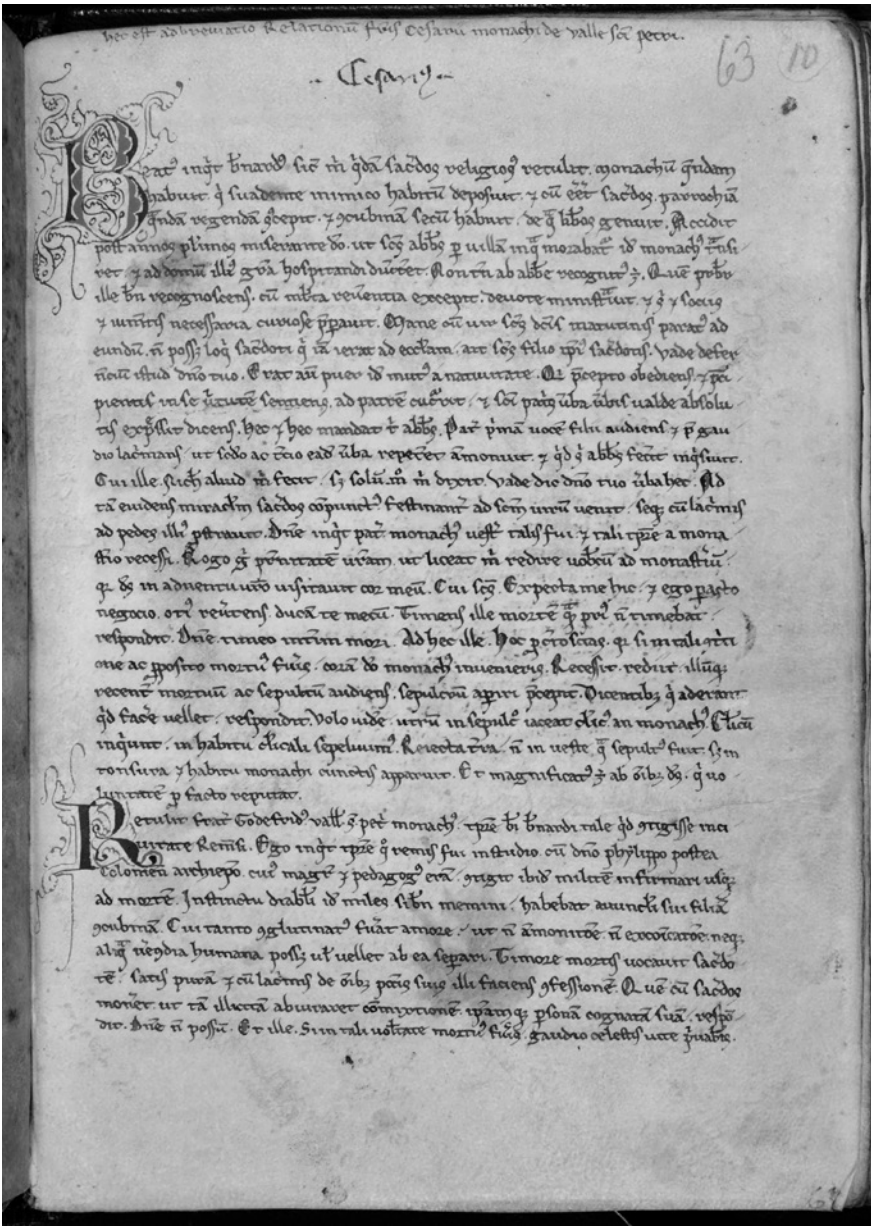

FIGURE 6.1 *A page from the manuscript with a title and Caesarius's name, fol. 63 recto, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1906.*

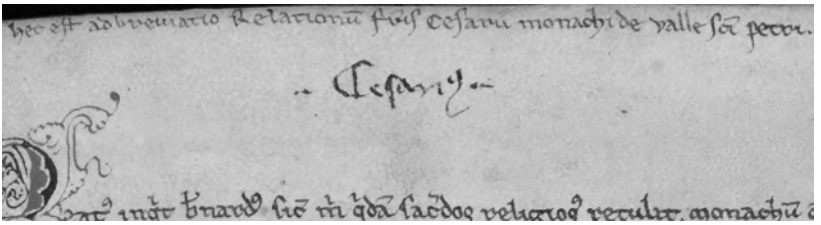

FIGURE 6.2 *Detail of the page: Caesarius' name, fol. 63 recto, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1906.*

The content of both collections is presented in the following tables, together with the correspondence with the *DM*. The *exempla* that appear in both collections are printed **in bold**, those also found in Alberic's *Chronica* are printed *in italics*:

Comparative Tables of *exempla* from the *DM* in the *Adbreuiatio* and in the *Collectio*

Adbreuiatio	*DM*	*Collectio*	*Adbreuiatio*	*DM*	*Collectio*
1	***II, 3***	***60***	**16**	**II, 32**	**32**
2	**II, 16**	**29**	***17***	***IV, 12***	***39***
3	**IV, 7**	**15**	**18**	**II, 5**	**18/62**
4	IV, 14		19	XI, 35	
5	VIII, 59		20	XII, 58	
6	X, 2		21	XI, 47	
7	IX, 49		22	XI, 20	
8	IX, 48		**23**	**II, 10**	**23**
9	VII, 58		24	VIII, 47	
10	**II, 2**	**59**	25	VIII, 85	
11	**II, 23**	**31**	*26*	*IX, 51*	
12	**III, 14**	**46**	27	IX, 7	
13	***IV, 79***	***10***	28	IX, 45	
14	*IX, 43*		**29**	**IV, 54**	**66**
15	**II, 33**	**33**[17]	**30**	**IV, 53**	**65**

17 From *DM* II, 16 to *DM* II, 33, we find exactly the same choice of *exempla* in the *Collectio* and in the *Adbreuiatio*, albeit not in the same form.

(cont.)

Adbreuiatio	*DM*	*Collectio*	*Adbreuiatio*	*DM*	*Collectio*
31	XII, 50		47	VIII, 75	
32	VII, 49		***48***	***III, 6***	***45***
33	VII, 26		**49**	**III, 2**	**42**
34	VII, 25		**50**	**II, 6**	**19**
35	VII, 27		**51**	**II, 7**	**20**
36	VII, 33		**52**	**II, 8**	**21**
37	VII, 48		53	III, 16	
38	VII, 59		**54**	**III, 17**	**47**
39	VII, 37		55	III, 15	
40	VIII, 18		**56**	**II, 12**	**25**
41	VII, 23		**57**	**II, 11**	**24**
42			58	XII, 51	
43	VIII, 14		*59*	*VII, 3*	
44	VII, 20		60	XII, 57	
45	VIII, 21		61	IX, 64	
46	***II, 17***	***30***			

Caesarius's exempla in the Anonymous *Collectio*

1	IV, 54	14	VI, 31	27	II, 14	39	IV, 12
2	IV, 57	15	IV, 7	28	II, 15	40	IV, 16
3	IV, 61	16	Two *exempla*	29	II, 16	41	IV, 18
4	IV, 62	17	on Humelina[18]	30	II, 17	42	III, 2
5	IV, 68	18	II, 5	31	II, 23	43	III, 4
6	IV, 69	19	II, 6	32	II, 32	44	III, 5
7	IV, 70	20	II, 7	33	II, 33	45	III, 6
8	IV, 73	21	II, 8	34	II, 34	46	III, 14
9	IV, 75	22	II, 9 (only the end)	35	IV, 2	47	III, 17
10	IV, 79	23	II, 10	36	IV, 3	48	III, 24
11	V, 38	24	II, 11	37	IV, 4 (only	49	III, 25
12	VI, 18	25	II, 12		the end)	50	III, 26
13	VI, 30	26	II, 13	38	IV, 5	51	III, 27

52	III, 28	56	III, 32	60	II, 3	63	IV, 19
53	III, 29	57	III, 22	61	II, 4 (only	64	IV, 22
54	III, 30	58	II, 1		the end)	65	IV, 53
55	III, 31	59	II, 2	62	II, 5	66	IV, 54

The tables make the differences between the two collections immediately apparent. The *Collectio* presents sequences of *exempla* mostly in the order in which they were originally found in the *DM*. It certainly is a copy, and not a very careful one, of a collection organised thematically. The indication of the theme is given by the *distinctio* in which the story appears, for example, on folio 53r we read, at the end of *DM* IV, 54: "Finit de temptacione pusillanimitatis. Incipit de temptacione auaricie" (Here ends [the section] about the temptation of cowardice. Here begins [the section] about the temptation of avarice). But the titles, underlined in the first few folios of the manuscript, do not consistently correspond to a theme, more often they refer to a specific story. The following title, for instance, is given to an *exemplum* on the temptation of avarice (*DM* IV, 69) but rather than mentioning the general theme, it focuses on the details of the plot: "De hospitalitate cuiusdam matrone" (On the hospitality of a certain lady). A story from *DM* IV, 70 is also included under the same title. The dialogue is preserved only partially, the names or titles of the interlocutors are not given, and we only find the abbreviations for "queritur" (it is asked) and "respondit" (he/she answers). At various places in this manuscript we find marginal notes by a contemporary hand that read "exemplum." It is unclear how exactly the stories were copied and it is puzzling that the collection starts abruptly in the middle of *DM* IV, 54 ("de longe venientem" [coming from afar]) and concludes with the same story, incomplete, ending with the first half of the sentence that opens the collection ("exercitum candidatorum" [an army of white-robed people]) which produces a strange feeling of circularity.

The choices of the *Adbreuiatio*, on the other hand, are clearer: Alberic organised the 61 *exempla* (including one not found in Strange's edition) in chronological order. For him the stories were certainly very effective and persuasive didactic tales, and he clearly states in his *Chronicon*, after copying Gossuinus's

18 The same two *exempla* appear in ms. National Library of Luxemburg, 100, which also contains two collections of excerpts from Caesarius, one of which (on ff. 56r^{a} – 78r^{b}) is similar to the *Collectio*. I am grateful to Thomas Falmagne for letting me consult his description of ms. BnL 100 from the *Catalogue* that he is preparing for publication.

visions of Ascelina, that he collected "ad incitamentum fidei et morum nostrorum edificacionem" (as an incentive to the faith and the edification of our lives).[19] Still, he was mostly interested in the *exempla*'s value as a historical source for the works that he had in mind. Alberic's approach is already explicit in his use of the term "relationes" to refer to Caesarius's *exempla* or *miracles*. The title he gave to his work is not *Adbreuiatio exemplorum* or *Adbreuiatio dialogorum* but *Adbreuiato relationum*. The title is written in the same hand as the rest of the work, and Alberic uses the same term in the *Chronicon*, in the passage where he refers to the *exemplum* of the lay monk (*DM* IV, 79).[20] This simple vocabulary choice indicates a different approach to the text. Caesarius was not too concerned with the order in which order the events took place, even though he was careful, when possible, to provide sources and dates to stress they really did take place. As an historian, Alberic reorganised the same material chronologically, using Caesarius's many indications.

One telling case illustrates Alberic's passion for dating and source checking: he adds a note of his own to one of Caesarius's *exempla* in order to provide supporting evidence of its authenticity. In the *DM*, *exemplum* VIII, 85 ends with a vague note about Fridegund, the protagonist of the story: "Adhuc puto eandem Friderunam vivere, et vix aliqua soror est in eadem ecclesia, quam tam iocunda lateat historia" (I think this Friderund still lives, and there is hardly a nun in that church who does not know such a happy story). To this note, Alberic substitutes his own:

> **Adbreuiatio**: Datumque est ei caput alterius uirginis cum quo tristis repedavit. Hucusque de hoc miraculo frater Caesarius. Ego uero frater A. habui nuper colloquium cum abbate ipsius domino Henrico qui dixit michi quod illa Frinderunis que pectinem acceperat de nouo facta est abbatissa ecclesie XI^{cim} milia uirginum uidelicet infra hoc biennium. Et quod in isto anno Domini M° CC° XX° IX° mense augustus reuelate sunt XX^{ti}IIII^{or} de illis uirginibus ubi affuit domnus archiepiscopus Clareuallis Iohannes, uidelicet Mitilenensis, et quod Ceumata seu Cleumata fuerunt nomina duarum uirginum predictarum. (He received the head of another virgin and went back with it, filled with sadness. Up to this point the story

19 Mula, "Il cosiddetto *Chronicon Clarevallense*," 36.

20 The term 'laicus monachus,' lay monk, which seems to be a contradiction in terms, refers to a monk who does not know Latin. Chrysogonus Waddel addressed this intriguing issue in one of his last conference papers at the 43rd Kalamazoo International Medieval Conference, and his article has appeared posthumously: Chrysogonus Waddell, "*The Cistercian 'Lay Monk' – Monachus laicus – A Contradiction in Terms*?" *Cîteaux* 61 (2010): 53–62.

> of this miracle as told by brother Caesarius. Recently, however, I, brother A., talked with his [Caesarius's] abbot, Dom Henry, and he told me that that same Friderund who received the comb has recently been elected, in the last two years, abbess of the church of the eleven thousand virgins. He also added that in the month of August of this year of the Lord 1229, 24 of those virgins have been discovered. John, Archbishop of Clairvaux, that is of Mytilene,[21] was there, and two of those aforementioned virgins were called Ceumata and Cleumata.)

This passage contains the author's initial and the date when he was writing, which makes it a valuable source for the history of the text as a whole. In addition, it gives evidence of how Alberic read the *exempla*: he may have been interested in their message, but he reported them for their historical value. Not only was Friderund still alive, but two years earlier she had even been made abbess of her monastery. Relics of twenty-four more virgins were discovered, and it happened exactly in the month of August of the year 1229.

Without any doubt, the *DM* was considerably more popular than Alberic's historical works. Alberic's approach to the *exempla*, however, tells a story that is seldom told. Narrative was at the centre of the Cistercian community. Cistercian monks, initially mostly at Clairvaux, collected, copied and retold their *exempla* in order to gain insight into spiritual matters and instruct novices. At the same time, they viewed the same stories as authentic and reliable historical sources of information about the Order's past. Alberic was not the only one to use them chronologically. Conrad, who was a monk at Clairvaux and then became Abbot of Eberbach, reorganised *exempla* from Herbert of Torres's *Liber visionum et miraculorum Clarevallensium* in his *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*: "(…) ut, quae ille sparsim et aliis narrationibus permixta posuit, hic in ordinem redacta et sibi similibus copulate clarius elucescant et ad utilitatem legentium magis proficient" (what was scattered here and there, and mixed up with other stories, could better enlighten and better profit anyone reading it, once the whole had been edited into some order and joined together with similar pieces).[22] For his part, while stressing the historical value of his stories, he thought thematic organization of similar materials more effective, even though he did not use Herbert's *Liber* as much. Alberic went one

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21 The note regarding Mytilene was added later. There was no Archbishop of Clairvaux, and the reference is to John of Mytilene, a Benedictine monk who became abbot of the Cistercian Igny Abbey and died in 1240 in Clairvaux. See Mula, "Looking for an Author," 9, note 15.

22 Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum*, 61 (I, 32); English Translation: Conrad of Eberbach, *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, 115.

step further, incorporating Cistercian *exempla* in his *Chronica* together with any other source he could lay his hands on. He prepared his own collection of Caesarius's *exempla* with an eye to their insertion in a historical work. In the end he only used eight out of the 61 stories he collected, and in one case he seems to have modified his calculation: in the *Chronica* two stories are listed in an inverted order with respect to the *Adbreuiatio*. In the *Chronica*, the entry for 1150 corresponds to the first excerpt of the *Adbreuiatio*, but is only a summary (this is a story from *DM* II, 3). It reminds us of Alberic's note in the *Chronicon* on the story of the lay monk: "Hic annotandum est miraculum beati Bernardi de monacho sacerdote qui apostatavit et multos filios et filias in seculo generavit, ex quibus primogenitus mutus fuit, qualiter huic reddidit loquelam et, patre iam defuncto in habitu seculari, habitus monachilis inventus est" (Here we should note a miracle of St Bernard in which a monk-priest left the Order and had many sons and daughters. His first-born child was mute, and Bernard gave him his speech back. The father, who died in his secular dress, was found in his monastic garb [after he was buried]).[23] The reference is a signpost, as if at that moment Alberic did not have his own *Adbreuiatio* at hand.

The table below illustrates the transformation of the narrative material from the *Dialogus* to the *Adbreviatio* to the *Chronica* using the example of *DM* III, 6:

DM III, 6	*Adbreuiatio* 48	*Chronica* s.a. 1214
Tempore illo, quo Scholasticus Coloniensis Oliverus crucem praedicavit in partibus Brabantiae, sicut mihi narravit Bernardus monachus noster, tunc eius collega in praedicatione, **fuit ibi puella quaedam religiosa et voto virginitatis gloriosa, orta de Nivella**	Anno Domini 1214. **Quo tempore magister Oliuerus Coloniensis scolasticus crucem predicauit in partibus Brabantie. Fuit ibi puella quedam religiosa uoto uirginitatis gloriosa orta de Niuella [. . .] Eratque tam nequam idem spiritus ut presentium**	Eodem tempore magister Oliverus Coloniensis scolasticus crucem predicavit in partibus Brabantie, *ubi demon qui vocabatur Cohoth* puellam quandam virginem et religiosam vexabat: ad quem multi vicini et patriote venientes sciscitabantur

23 *Chronica Alberici monachi Trium Fontium*, 840. There is only a brief summary of the story in the chronicle.

DM III, 6	*Adbreuiatio* 48	*Chronica* s.a. 1214
[…] Eratque tam nequam idem spiritus, ut praesentium peccata detegeret, crimina improperaret, nec aliquod peccatum eum lateret, nisi quod vera confessio tegeret. Ostendit alia signa nequitiae suae.[24]	**peccata detegeret crimina improperaret nec aliquod peccatum eum lateret nisi quem uera confessio tegeret.** *Dictum est michi quod interrogatus quo nomine uocaretur dixit nomen suum esse Cohoth.*[25]	ab eo de rebus certis et incertis. Quibus diabolus acta occulta palam omnibus denudabat, illis exceptis de quibus facta est confessio.[26]

The *Adbreuiatio* removes the reference to the oral source ("sicut mihi narravit Bernardus" [as Bernard told me]), specifies the date of the event, and adds the name of the demon. When the story moves to the *Chronica*, the date is no longer mentioned, but the story is listed under the appropriate year, and the name of the demon is now seamlessly integrated in the text. In this case, the text of the *exemplum* is mostly preserved in the *Adbrevuiatio*, while in the *Chronica* it is drastically abridged. It is, however, clear that the *Adbreuiatio* served as the intermediary stage in the adaptation of the text, because the name of the demon is reused in *Chronica*.

24 When the scholastic Oliver of Cologne preached the Crusade in Brabant, as I was told by Bernard, one of our monks who was preaching with him, there was a certain religious girl from Nivelles, famous for her vow of virginity […] That spirit was so evil that as soon as he uncovered the sins of those who were present, he would insult them for their crimes, and not a single sin would be hidden from him, unless covered by a true confession. He also showed other signs of his wickedness.

25 In the year of our Lord 1214, when the scholastic Oliver of Cologne preached the Crusade in Brabant, there was a certain religious girl from Nivelles, famous for her vow of virginity […] That spirit was so evil that as soon as he uncovered the sins of those who were present, he would insult them for their crimes, and not a single sin would be hidden from him, unless covered by a true confession. He also showed other signs of his wickedness. I have been told that asked about his name, he said he was called Cohoth.

26 At the same time Oliver of Cologne, master scholastic, was preaching the Crusade in Brabant, where a demon called Cohoth harassed a certain religious and chaste girl. Many neighbours and people from the area would come and ask him about things both certain and uncertain, and he devil would uncover in front of them all their hidden actions, with the exception of those that had been confessed.

At least in one case, Alberic's rewriting of Caesarius's *exemplum* changed the original so much that even Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, the editor of the *Chronica* who deliberately did not include any borrowings from identifiable sources, failed to see that this tale was from the *DM*:

DM VII, 3	*Adbreuiatio* 59	*Chronica* p. 907[27]
		De Frisonibus autem, de quibus in superiori pagina continetur, in captione turris ante Damietam cum multi repatriassent, eodem mense vel eadem ebdomada, qua domum reversi sunt impetu maris inundantis, sicut Dominus previderat, mortui sunt.
De plaga Frisiae ob iniuriam Dominici corporis.		
Parvo post haec emerso tempore, anno videlicet gratiae millesimo ducentesimo decimo octavo, mare in partibus Frisiae terminos suos egrediens multarum provinciarum terras occupavit, villas delevit, ecclesias lapideas deiecit, tantam hominum extinguens multitudinem, ut summa centum milia transcenderet. Ita exaltati sunt fluctus eius, ut turrium altitudines operire procella procellam viderentur, et	Anno Domini 1218. Mare in partibus Frisie terminos suos egrediens multarum prouinciarum terras occupauit, uillas deleuit, ecclesias lapideas deiecit tantam hominum extinguens multitudinem ut summa centum milia transcenderet. Ita exaltati sunt fluctus eius ut turrium altitudines operire uiderentur, et	Siquidem hoc anno in partibus Frisie terminos suos mare egrediens multarum provinciarum terras occupavit, villas delevit, ecclesias lapideas deiecit, tantam hominum extinguens multitudinem, ut summa centum milia transcenderet. Ita exaltati sunt fluctus eius, ut turrium altitudines operire viderentur, et

27 Scheffer-Boichorst indicates *DM* XII, 26 for Henri's visit to Friesland and XII, 13 for a later passage: "Moritur dux Ziringie Bertoldus, de cuius interitu et damnatione multa referebantur auditu mirabilia" (The duke of Zähringen dies, of whose death and condemnation many things that are wondrous to hear are told). The two *exempla* are not in the *Adbreuiatio*.

DM VII, 3	*Adbreuiatio* 59	*Chronica* p. 907[27]
procella procellam impellens, generale diluvium terris minaretur. Et sicut dictum fuit Abbate nostro, cum eodem anno visitationis gratia Frisia intrasset, quod fluctus furentes etiam usque Coloniam pervenissent, si non is qui eos excitaverat, Genitrici suae, **ut postea dicetur**, precibus compescuisset.	procella procellam impellens, generale diluuium terris minitaretur. Et sicut dictum *est abbati de Valle Sancti Petri* cum eodem anno uisitationis gratia Frisiam intrasset quod fluctus furentes etiam usque Coloniam peruenissent, si non is qui eos excitauerat Genitricis sue precibus compescuisset.	inpellens generale diluvium terris minaretur, et sicut dictum *est abbati de Valle Sancti Petri*, cum eodem anno visitationis gratia Frisiam intrasset, quod fluctus etiam furentes usque Coloniam pervenissent, si non is, qui eos excitaverat, genitricis sue precibus compescuisset.[28]
Novicius: Nosti causam tantae plagae? Monachus: Novi. Friso quidam arte pugil in eadem provincia exstitit, qui quotiens de taberna ebrius rediit, totiens uxorem verberibus et plagis satis tribulavit.[29]	*Causa tante plage ista fuisse memoratur.* Friso quidam arte pugil in eadem prouincia extitit. Qui quotiens de taberna ebrius rediit, tociens uxorem *uerbis* et plagis tribulauit *et afflixit.*[30]	

28 Of the Frisons, about whom we wrote in the preceding page: many of them came back after the capture of the Tower in front of Damietta, and in the same month and the same week of their return home they died, as the Lord foresaw, because of the violence of the flooding sea. In the year of the Lord 1218, the sea-level in Friesland rose and the sea inundated the land of many provinces, destroying towns, crumbling down stone churches, and killing so many people that their number was over one hundred thousand. Its waves were so high that they were seen covering the top of towers, and with storms following storms, it seemed that the land was threatened by a universal flood. And as it was said to the Abbot of Heisterbach who was visiting Friesland that same year for his visitations, the raging waves would have reached Cologne, if it were not for Him who first raised them, who also curbed them, because of His mother's prayers.

29 Of the disaster in Friesland that happened because of the insult to the body of the Lord. Soon after those times, in the year of Grace 1218, in Friesland the sea-level rose and the sea inundated the land of many provinces, destroying towns, crumbling down stone churches and killing so many people that their number was over one hundred thousand. Its waves

Caesarius tells of the flood in Friesland in *DM* VII, dedicated to Mary. In the *Adbreuiatio*, Alberic removes the dialogue completely and shortens the text slightly. When it comes to the *Chronica*, it is the cause itself of the flood that he removes, the most exemplary part of the narrative. He adds a few more chronological details, but Mary is only mentioned in passing at the end. Her role is still necessary, but the story of Friso the wrestler is not relevant anymore, at least in this specific context.

The *Adbreuiatio* was a working database for Alberic.[31] He collected the stories that were already dated or that he could date or place in a specific chronological order, added some notes, and then used some of them in his *Chronica.* What we now call, following Chifflet, *Chronicon Clarevallense*, was another such preparatory tool, and not an independent work. Both the *Chronicon Clarevallense* and the *Adbreuiatio* demonstrate that the Cistercian

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were so high that they were seen covering the top of towers, and with storms following storms, it seemed that the land was threatened by a universal flood. And as it was said to our Abbot, who was visiting Friesland that same year for his visitations, the raging waves would have reached Cologne, if it were not, as it was later said, for Him who first raised them, who also curbed them, because of His mother's prayers. Novice: Do you know the cause of such a disaster? Monk: I do know. There was a certain Friso, a wrestler by his trade, who lived in that same province, who, every time he came back from the tavern, assaulted his wife with lashes and plenty of blows.

30 In the year of our Lord 1218, in Friesland the sea-level rose and the sea inundated the land of many provinces, destroying towns, crumbling down stone churches and killing so many people that their number was over one hundred thousand. Its waves were so high, that they were seen covering the top of towers, and with storms following storms, it seemed that the land was threatened by a universal flood. And as it was said to the Abbot of Heisterbach, who was visiting Friesland that same year for his visitations, the raging waves would have reached Cologne, if it were not, as it was later said, for Him who first raised them, who also curbed them, because of His mother's prayers. The cause of such destruction is recounted. There was a certain Friso, a boxer by his trade, who lived in that same province and, every time he came back from the tavern, assaulted and struck his wife with words and plenty of blows.

31 It is quite possible and even likely that another contemporary Cistercian monk, Hélinand of Froidmont, used similar 'databases' in the writing of his own *Chronicle*. In fact, in Froidmont's work we find a series of *exempla* taken from the letters of Peter Damian, which also appear in Alberic's *Chronica*. Kurt Reindel, "Petrus Damiani bei Helinand von Froidmont und Alberich von Troisfontaines," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 53 (1997): 205–24; Stefano Mula, "Les *exempla* de Pierre Damien et leur diffusion aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles," *Le tonnerre des exemples.* Exempla *et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, (eds.) Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Pascal Collomb and Jacques Berlioz (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 161–74.

monks of the early thirteenth century perceived *exempla* as texts with multiple meanings and multiple usages. Without doubt, they saw these tales as tools of persuasion, but also as historical accounts, which could be used "ut fratribus nostris, qui in remotioribus orbis partibus sacrum ordinem nostrum professi [...] de initio ordinis nostri certam notitiam trademus" (to hand down a certain knowledge of our Order from its inception to our brothers who live in far away lands), and "ut monachis nigri ordinis calumnandi occasionem tolleremus" (to remove the occasion of calumny from the Black Monks, who openly slander our Order to seculars and to those ignorant of the facts).[32] The *exempla*, for Cistercian monks such as Caesarius, Conrad and Alberic, provided historical, reliable facts, in addition to spiritual teachings, and the main difference among them was in how they employed them in their works. Caesarius and Conrad used them mostly for spiritual teaching and for the defense of the Order; Alberic for their general historical value, beyond the interests or spirituality of the Order. For all of them the stories were both true accounts and persuasive narrative tales. We may not always share their convictions, but in order to understand the role of the *exempla* in the Cistercian world where they were used, we should never forget that they were meant to be truthful accounts, and that their persuasiveness was in part grounded in their historicity.

32 Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum*, 420 (VI, 10). Conrad of Eberbach, *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, 540 (VI, 10).

PART 4

The Use of the Cistercian Heritage in Dominican Preaching

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CHAPTER 7

The Making of a New *Auctoritas*: The *Dialogus miraculorum* Read and Rewritten by the Dominican Arnold of Liège

Elisa Brilli

The *Alphabetum Narrationum* (*Alphabet of Tales*) that is with certainty attributed to the Dominican Arnold of Liège[1] was composed in Latin at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It represents one of the most important collections of medieval exemplary tales, thanks not only to its length but also its originality. One of the remarkable features of the *Alphabetum* is the great number of references it makes to Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (*DM* henceforth). The edition of Arnold of Liège's collection that I took over from the late Colette Ribaucourt has recently been published.[2] In this article, I would like to give a first survey of the relationship between the author of the *AN* and Caesarius of Heisterbach. Caesarius's pre-eminence among Arnold's sources and the latter's profound knowledge of the *DM* will be addressed, as well as the Dominican's method of work on Caesarius's text and the place of the version he consulted in the manuscript tradition of the *DM*; finally, the nature of the *auctoritas* exerted by Caesarius of Heisterbach on Arnold of Liège and the different factors that shaped it will be considered.

Before proceeding with these questions, I would like to provide the reader with some general information about the *AN*. The identity of the compiler is revealed in the prologue, where the first letters of the sentences form an acrostic: ARNVLDVS DE SERAIN (Seraing is a suburb of Liège), as Arnold him-

1 Thanks to the studies of Barthélemy Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 2 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1890), 68–75, and of John Alexander Herbert, "The Authorship of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*," *The Library* (January 1905): 94–101.

2 Arnoldus Leodiensis, *Alphabetum Narrationum*, (ed.) Elisa Brilli, Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 160 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). In the present article, references are given to this edition [henceforth: *AN*] The base manuscript for the edition, chosen by Ribaucourt, is ms. Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 730 (fourteenth century *ineunte*). The reasons for this choice are given by Jacques Berlioz, "L'édition des recueils d'*exempla* homilétiques. Réalisations (1969–1994), projets et urgences," in *Les* exempla *médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, (eds.) Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 1998), 358 and 360.

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self points out in the *explicit* of the same collection.[3] Also in the prologue, Arnold claims the authorship of the *Alphabetum auctoritatum*. Furthermore, the *Tabula Stamsensis* dating back to the beginning of the fourteenth century designates him as the compiler of a *Liber de mirabilibus mundi*,[4] as the author himself announces in his main collection.[5] This *Tabula* also contains a mention, among the "Magistri in theologia Parisius" (Masters in theology in Paris), of a certain "Brother Arnulphus Leodiensis, who graduated in 1305."[6] It is, however, unlikely that this was indeed the same person and it is more reasonable to identify him with *Arnuldus* of Seraing the Younger, who witnessed a will in 1265 and was the prior of the convent in Liège in 1290.[7] The time of the composition of the *AN* was established by Jean-Thiébaut Welter taking into account internal indications. The *terminus post quem* of 1297 is based on the *exemplum* (n° 551a) where Isabelle de Navarre is referred to as "filia sancti Ludouici regis Francie" (daughter of St Louis, King of France), because Louis IX was canonized in 1297. The *terminus ante quem* of the end of 1307, on the other hand, is established by the *colophon* transmitted by a number of medieval manuscripts; it refers to the completion of an *exemplar* in 28 *peciae* on the ninth of January 1308.[8] Nevertheless, the chronological bracket is too large and too little is known about Arnold's life for it to be possible to speculate where this work was conducted and, what is more regrettable, to identify the libraries that the compiler may have used. In fact, as will be shown later, those libraries may not

3 *AN* 819, l. 19–22: "Quem qui hunc librum lecturi sunt orare deuote dignentur ut horum compilator, cuius nomen in prologo continetur, eorum orationibus adiutus finem beatum sequi mereatur" (Those who are going to read this book may deign to pray devoutly for its compiler, whose name is given in the prologue, so that he, helped by their prayers, may deserve to reach a blessed end).

4 "Frater Arnoldus Leodiensis scripsit librum, qui dicitur Narratio. Item librum de mirabilibus mundi": (ed.) Henry Denifle, "Quellen zur Gelehrtengeschichte des Predigerordens," *Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 2 (1886): 233, n° 55.

5 See *AN* 725 (in the conclusion of the entry on the *signum*).

6 Denifle, "Quellen zur Gelehrtengeschichte des Predigerordens," 212, n° 55.

7 See Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii Aevi*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 1970), 130–31 who, contrary to the impression given by the *Tabula*, distinguished the Liège prior and the compiler of the *AN* from the *magister theologiae* who graduated in 1305 (Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 134). We shall see that the compiler of the *AN* shows a certain affinity with the methods of the Parisian Dominicans. For further information on Arnuldus of Seraing see my Introduction to *AN*, XVII–XIX.

8 See Jean-Thiébaut Welter, *L'*Exemplum *dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris-Toulouse: E.-H. Guitard, 1927; repr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1973), 309. For the *colophon* see Jean Destrez and Guy Fink-Errera, "Des manuscrits apparemment datés," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), 56–93, here p. 83–6.

have been as well-stocked as one could be led to believe. It is also important to remember that, according to the same *colophon*, the work was put into circulation, possibly by the author in the Parisian university circle, and that the scribe of the first copy, Pierre Bonenfant (Petrus Bonuspuer) figures among the *librarii* who took an oath at the university and was later known as the owner of a shop on the rue de Bièvre.[9]

As is announced in the title, in the *AN* narrative material is presented in alphabetical order. In this respect, this work forms part of an established tradition of mendicants' collections of *exempla* that can be traced back to the second half of the thirteenth century. The need to make exemplary stories easily accessible for the purposes of preaching made the alphabetical principle of the organisation preferable to the logical and thematic structure.[10] To this same tradition belong such works as the *Liber exemplorum* preserved in the Durham Cathedral Library (around 1275–79), whose author was a Franciscan,

9 See Destrez et Fink-Errera, "Des manuscrits apparemment datés," 84 and note 65 and Giovanna Murano, *Opere diffuse per* exemplar *e pecia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 271–72. On Petrus Bonuspuer (who is cited in the most complete version of the *colophon*, transmitted by the ms. Vendôme, BM, 181, f.147r) see the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, (eds.) Henry Denifle and Emile Chatelain, vol. 2 (Paris: Delalain, 1891), n° 724 (cit. on p. 180 as "Petrus Boneffant"), n° 733 (cit. on p. 192 as "Petro dicto Bonefant de vico Bivrie") and n° 825 that confirms the precedent. For additional information on this person, see Richard H. Rouse et Mary A. Rouse, "The book trade at the University of Paris, ca.1250–ca.1350," in *La production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia*, (eds.) Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot, Richard H. Rouse (Paris: CNRS, 1988), 53 and note 35 and Frank Soetermeer, *Utrumque ius in peciis: aspetti della produzione libraria a Bologna fra Due e Trecento* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1997), 42–3 and notes 102–4. To the manuscripts copied from the *exemplar* of 1308, studied by Destrez, should be added ms. Upsala, Universitets Bibliotek, C 525, where the *colophon* on f. 165v reads: "Anno domini millesimo CCC VIII die martis ante festum beati mauri abbatis in mense januarij fuerunt complete scripte iste cum Guillelmo bono puero." I found this information in Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Hakan Hallberg and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C- Sammlung: Bd. 5. C 401–550* (Stockholm: Almqvist u. Wiksell International, 1992), 325–26 (the correction proposed by the editors does not seem necessary to me: it is enough to understand *pecie* as implied by *iste*). Concerning Guillelmus bonus puer (or Bonuspuer), Murano, *Opere diffuse*, 296 cites the *colophon* of Reims, BM, 992, f. 348r, where a nephew of Pierre is mentioned ("Explicit (…) anno Domini M°CCCXXV, die Martis ante festum beati Iohannis Baptiste, ex parte nepotis Petri Boni puer"). It is possible that this same nephew or other members of Pierre Bonenfant's family were associated to his workshop prior to this date.

10 See Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Recueils franciscains d'*exempla* et perfectionnement des techniques intellectuelles du XIII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 135 (1977), 5–21.

the *Tabula exemplorum* (around 1277), the *Speculum laicorum* (around 1279–1292) and a collection preserved in the Municipal Library of Auxerre (ms. 35, around 1279–1297), that were studied by Welter at the end of the last century.[11]

Arnold's project distinguishes itself first and foremost by its scale. More than eight hundred stories are presented in more than five hundred entries. The *AN* offers an eclectic range of entries including terms for family or social or professional status, names of historical figures, names of animals, but also entries dedicated to vices, virtues and abstract concepts belonging to the domains of the doctrine or liturgy. Under each entry, rubricated at the start of the first story of the group, there are one or several *exempla*, each introduced by a short caption summarising the content and providing an indication of the source of the story. As a rule, the *exempla* also contain cross-references to other entries of the collection for which the story can also be relevant, usually introduced by the formula "hoc etiam valet/facit ad . . ." (this [story] is valid also for . . .). Furthermore, under each entry, Arnold inserts a caption summarising stories that are not transcribed within the entry but are to be found elsewhere in the collection, as he indicates by the formula "Vide supra/infra de . . ." (See above/below about . . .), followed by the reference to the entries in question. Thus each entry usually contains both the stories that are in fact transcribed and 'virtual' stories, transcribed elsewhere in the collection, and some entries only contain stories of the second type. This complex system of cross-referencing or, one could say, this system of 'import' and 'export' of *exempla* from one entry to another, ensures the collection's cohesion and flexibility, allowing the reader to find an *exemplum* via different routes and multiplying possible ways of consultation: in alphabetical order, selecting the entries of interest from the *tabula* at the end of the collection, going from one entry to the next following cross-references etc.

Together, these features (organisation in alphabetical order, richness of material, cohesion, flexibility and accessibility for consultation) make the *AN*

11 Welter, *L'*Exemplum, 290 and ff. In detail: the *Liber exemplorum ad usum predicantium saeculo XIII compositus a quodam fratre minore anglico de provincia Hiberniae* was edited by Andrew George Little (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1908), on which Welter, *L'*Exemplum, 290–94; *La "Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti." Recueil d'*exempla *compilé en France à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, (ed.) Jean-Thiébaut Welter (Paris-Toulouse: E.-H. Guitard, 1926), on which Welter, *L'*Exemplum, 294–97; *Le "Speculum laicorum": édition d'une collection d'*exempla *en Angleterre à la fin du XIII^e s.*, (ed.) Jean-Thiébaut Welter (Paris: Picard, 1914), on which Welter, *L'*Exemplum, 297–301 and, for the Auxerre ms., Welter, *L'*exemplum, 301–4 and Marie-Claire Stra, "Étude d'un recueil anonyme d'*exempla* (compilation de la fin du XIII^e siècle)," in *Positions des thèses de l'École nationale des chartes* (1973): 159–63.

into a sort of encyclopaedia.[12] Moreover, they transform it into a reference book, as is attested not only by around a hundred extant manuscripts[13] but also by early vernacular translations (into French, English and Catalan)[14] and by the fact that immediately upon its publication this collection started to be used by other compilers, such as Johannes Gobi.[15]

The *DM*'s Central Position among the *AN*'s Sources

The study of the influence of Caesarius of Heisterbach on Arnold of Liège should begin with the indications of the sources found in the *AN* itself. One way or another, the importance of the references to the *DM* in Arnold's impressive volume is indisputable: the 165 *exempla* that cite Caesarius as their source make the Cistercian the most cited author in this collection, but this preeminence is in fact only 'nominal.' In order to understand what this means, we should dwell a little on Arnold's usage of his sources. Each *exemplum* offers an indication of its provenance; these declarations, however, often do not correspond to the texts where Arnold had in fact found the stories he transcribed. In many cases and in accordance with the medieval tradition, as they are transmitted from one text to another, the stories are not simply reproduced but

12 On the interactions and combinations between these genres, see Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Les recueils d'*exempla* et la diffusion de l'encyclopédisme médiéval," in *L'enciclopedismo medievale*, (ed.) Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1994), 179–212, p. 184 on the *AN*.

13 See Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*, 1: 130–33.

14 For the French adaptation, see Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*, 133. The English translation is published as *An Alphabet of Tales. An English 15th Century Translation of the "Alphabetum narrationum" of Etienne de Besançon, from Additional ms. 25.719 of the British Museum*, (ed.) Mary MacLeod Banks, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1904–1905). For the Catalan edition, see Arnau de Lieja (Arnoldus Leodiensis), *Recull d'exemples i miracles ordenat per alfabet*, (ed.) Josep-Antoni Ysern Lagarda, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Barcino, 2004). For the collections in English and in Catalan, see also the chapters dedicated to them by Colette Ribaucourt, "Alphabet of tales" and "Recull de eximplis," in *Les* exempla *médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche, suivie des tables critique de l'"Index exemplorum" de Frederic C. Tubach*, (eds.) Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Carcassonne GARAE/Hésiode, 1992), 199–216 and 217–33 and Polo de Beaulieu, "Arnold de Liège," in *Translations médiévales. Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge* (*XIe–XVe siècles*), (ed.) Claudio Galderisi, vol. 2, bk. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), n° 140, 324.

15 See *La "Scala coeli" de Jean Gobi*, (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: CNRS, 1991) and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu's article in the present volume.

may be profoundly reworked, which facilitates the identification of Arnold's intermediary sources. In short, Arnold consistently cites 'second hand,' and the gap between the declared sources and the intermediary sources that is thus produced is very obvious.

Caesarius, the *Vitae Patrum*, Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares*, Valerius Maximus, Humbert of Romans' *Liber de dono timoris*, Gregory the Great and, finally, Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda aurea* are, in descending order of importance, the most often quoted sources of the AN, that is, those to which the author attributes more than 30 *exempla* each (fig. 7.1).[16] There are also 136 further sources, authors or texts, cited in the collection less than 30 times each and often no more than once. Thus the indications given by Arnold at the start of the *exempla* could lead us to believe that he had combed more than 140 texts, which would represent a considerable amount of work and would require a large number of volumes to be at his disposal.

However, as I have already mentioned, when we begin to study the texts in more detail, a different picture emerges and it becomes clear that Arnold had a habit of using intermediary sources while at the same time referring exclusively to the more ancient authors whose names he found mentioned in the texts he consulted. This habit can be explained by a desire to indicate the

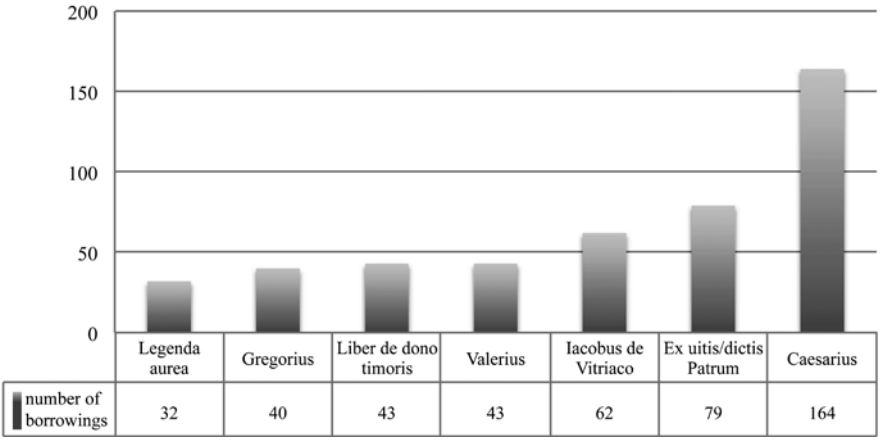


FIGURE 7.1 *Declared sources of the* Alphabetum narrationum *by Arnold of Liège.*

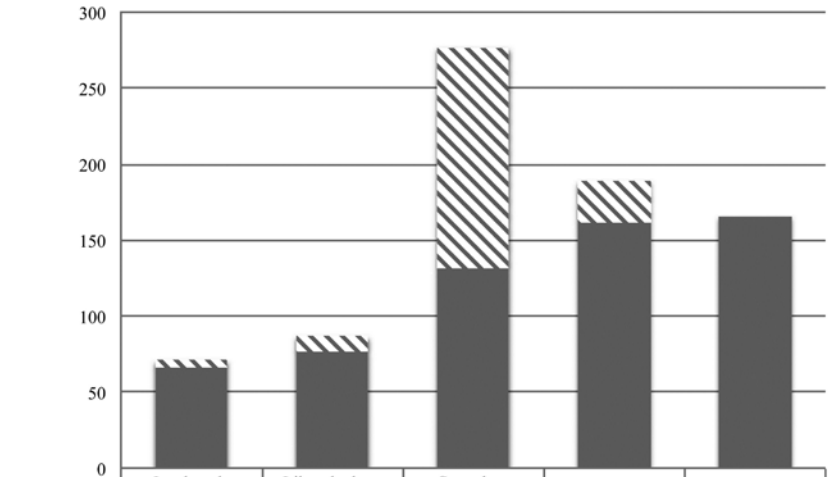
16 The titles of the columns in the graph follow the names customarily used by Arnold.

original source of the story or, at least, the text or author that Arnold may have thought to be the original source, certainly more interesting to know for his readers – but equally by the will to enrich his collection with an impressive selection of *auctoritates*. Also, the compiler does not collate the different variants of the tales to arrive at one consistent story. When the different sources that he is consulting give different versions of the same *exemplum*, Arnold does not concern himself with choosing one version at the expense of the other or reworking the text in order to reconcile the different versions in a new story; on the contrary, he copies each source almost to the letter. As a consequence, we find some doublets (the same *exemplum* attributed to the same 'declared' source but in slightly different textual versions), repetition and divergence deriving from the fact that each time Arnold is copying from a different intermediary source.

If we consider cases when the use of intermediary sources cannot be contested and cases when it is probable but cannot be demonstrated due to the proximity of textual versions, it becomes apparent that the influence of the works such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*,[17] Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares* and Humbert of Romans' *Liber de dono timoris* is much greater than Arnold would have us believe. Moreover, Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* appears as Arnold's principal source, even if it is never explicitly cited in the *Alphabetum*, and this fact confirms the proximity of this collection to the encyclopaedic genre. As for Caesarius, the *DM*'s importance is confirmed but its scale appears to be considerably smaller compared to the other sources mentioned above (fig. 7.2 and, for more details, *AN*, LXXXIV–XCIV).

A careful analysis demonstrates that Arnold does not have a habit of citing Caesarius's work through intermediary sources. In fact, this happens only once in the whole of the *AN*, and, in this instance, exceptionally, the reference to the intermediary source is provided. The case in point is the *exemplum* number 96, which cites its source as: "Cesarius, ex legenda lombardica." In fact, the story

17 The case of the *Legenda aurea* is rather problematic: several *exempla* from this collection have as an indication of their source the formula "ex legenda" followed by the name of the saint in question (in the genitive case). These indications were probably supposed to be clear for the reader. However, since this use is not consistent (for the borrowings from the *Legenda* Arnold also uses the formula "ex vita" + name of the saint in the genitive case, or else he indicates the patristic author cited by Jacobus of Voragine), I have counted as explicit borrowings from the *Legenda aurea* only the *exempla* introduced by the formula "ex legenda lombardica."



	Iacobus de Vitriaco	Liber de dono timoris	Speculum historiale	Legenda aurea	Caesarius
number of possible borrowings	5	10	146	28	0
number of confirmed borrowings	66	77	131	161	166

FIGURE 7.2 *Proven and probable sources of the* Alphabetum narrationum *by Arnold of Liège.*

is copied word for word from a passage of Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, whereas the *DM* provides more information.[18] Actually, Jacobus of Voragine does not indicate the source of this story and this is the only case in the whole of the *AN* where Arnold gives us to understand that he had turned to an intermediary source. It is possible that Arnold found this *exemplum* in the *Legenda aurea* but later read it in Caesarius's text and decided to stress that it did, in fact, come from the *DM*, in a gesture meant to indicate his respect, and even deference, for the Cistercian author.

Arnold's perfect mastery of the extensive material of the *DM* bears additional witness to his respect for Caesarius. The *AN* borrows stories from all of the sections of the *DM* with a minimum of six *exempla* taken from *Distinctio* VI and a maximum of 27 *exempla* from *Distinctio* IV, but this variation reflects only partially the diversity of the sections of the *DM* (fig. 7.3). Indeed, it seems

18 *AN* 96, to compare with Jacobus of Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, (ed.) Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, vol. 1 (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 107 (chap. 11) and with *DM* X, 56 (about a bird that was miraculously saved from a kite and learned from its mistress to repeat a prayer to St Thomas à Becket; this latter information is absent in the *Legenda aurea*). For other attestations, see Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, nº 2929.

Distinctiones of the *DM*	Chap. of the *DM*	*Ex.* Used in the *AN*
I – *De conversione*	43	7
II – *De contritione*	35	16
III – *De confessione*	53	17
IV – *De tentatione*	103	27
V – *De daemonibus*	56	10
VI – *De semplicitate*	37	8
VII – *De sancta Maria*	59	6
VIII – *De diversis visionibus*	97	9
IX – *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi*	67	13
X – *De miraculis*	72	20
XI – *De morientibus*	65	13
XII – *De praemio mortuorum*	59	17

FIGURE 7.3 *Number of chapters in the* DM *and of the* exempla *used in the* AN *for every* distinctio.

that Arnold had the whole of the *DM* in front of him and his choice depended on multiple factors. *Distinctio* VII, for example, is the second longest in the *DM* but Arnold uses it relatively little. The comparative lack of attention given to this section (*De sancta Maria*) can be explained by the fact that the entry dedicated to the Virgin (470–479) and other *exempla* with Marian themes in the *AN* mostly depend on the *Legenda aurea* and the quotations from *Mariale magnum* contained in the *Speculum historiale*, which made Caesarius a secondary source on this topic. By contrast, *Distinctiones* III (*De confessione*), IV (*De tentatione*), X (*De miraculis*) and XIII (*De praemio mortuorum*) are widely used by Arnold who must have recognised Caesarius's originality where these subjects were concerned.

Finally, I would like to address the position of the stories borrowed from the *DM* in the text of the *AN* which, as has already been mentioned, has a completely different structure. It happens rather often that Arnold cites three or even more *exempla* from the *DM* to form a sort of 'Caesarius's bloc,' a practice which has not been observed in the case of stories from other sources. These blocs, however, do not occupy a specific place in the entry: they can be found at the beginning as well as in the middle of an entry, before or after the *exempla* that come from the (declared) ancient sources. The internal organisation of the *exempla* grouped in the same entry is inspired neither by the principle of hierarchy of the *auctoritates* nor by thematic criteria, even though it is sometimes possible to identify conceptual connections in each series. Moreover, even when he

borrows whole blocs of stories from Caesarius, Arnold only rarely arranges them in the order given by his source, as can be seen in the following examples:[19]

Abbas		*Cantus*		*Communio*		*Confessio*	
AN 9	*DM* III, 36	*AN* 123	*DM* IV, 8	*AN* 160	*DM* IX, 35	*AN* 172	*DM* XI, 38
AN 10	*DM* IV, 13	*AN* 124	*DM* IV, 9	*AN* 161	*DM* IX, 43	*AN* 173	*DM* XI, 35
AN 11	*DM* VI, 11	*AN* 125	*DM* XII, 4	*AN* 162	*DM* IX, 47	*AN* 174	*DM* III, 21
AN 12	*DM* X, 8	*AN* 126b	*DM* V, 5	*AN* 163	*DM* IX, 48	*AN* 175	*DM* III, 15
						AN 176	*DM* III, 3
						AN 177	*DM* III, 2

Confessor		*Contritio*		*Demon*		*Gula*	
AN 179	*DM* III, 32	*AN* 205	*DM* VI, 35	*AN* 252	*DM* IV, 16	*AN* 352	*DM* X, 18
AN 180	*DM* III, 42	*AN* 206	*DM* II, 10	*AN* 253	*DM* V, 9	*AN* 353	*DM* IV, 86
AN 181	*DM* III, 47	*AN* 206a	*DM* II, 11	*AN* 254	*DM* V, 10	*AN* 354	*DM* IV, 88
AN 182	*DM* III, 50	*AN* 207	*DM* II, 23	*AN* 255	*DM* V, 5	*AN* 355	*DM* IV, 79
		AN 208	*DM* II, 15	*AN* 256	*DM* III, 13		
				AN 257	*DM* III, 8		
				AN 258	*DM* III, 7		
				AN 259	*DM* III, 10		

FIGURE 7.4 *Internal organisation of 'Caesarius's blocs' in the* AN *and correspondences between the* AN *and the* DM.

In short, Arnold knows the *DM* very well and he is used to 'disassembling' and 'reassembling' it again in a new order. Of course, this practice reflects a practical need: for instance, abbots are mentioned at numerous points in the *DM* but there is no section dedicated solely to them. Nevertheless, even when Arnold could have just copied the *exempla* in the order of the *distinctiones* dedicated to the same themes (entries on *confessio* from *Distinctio* III, *contritio* from

19 For an analysis of the entries on *Confessio* and *Confessor*, see Jacques Berlioz and Colette Ribaucourt, "Images de la confession dans la prédication au début du XIV^e siècle. L'exemple de l'*Alphabetum narrationum* d'Arnold de Liège," in *Pratiques de la confession. Des Pères du désert à Vatican II – Quinze études d'histoire*, (ed.) Le Groupe de la Bussière (Paris: Cerf, 1983), 95–115.

Distinctio II, or else on the *demon* from *Distinctio* V), he fills these entries by gathering different stories from several *distinctiones* of Caesarius's collection.

Since criteria used to assemble these *membra disiecta* are not always clear, a careful examination of this practice provides us with some information about the Dominican's working method. This disassembling and reassembling could in fact be explained if we imagine that, while reading, Arnold was taking notes of the *exempla* on some kind of index cards, relatively independent from each other and accompanied (at once or later) by keywords, the main one and a set of secondary ones. The keywords were necessary to reorganise these materials in alphabetised groups and create a system of cross-references, but this method would make it impossible to keep track of the original order of the stories in Arnold's sources. In some cases, when pairs of *exempla* were transcribed, the story that came first in Caesarius's text appeared second in the *AN* (for example, *AN* 176–177 and 257–258 in the table, but also *AN* 160–161, 172–173, 174–175, 207–208). These alterations could in fact be the result of a mechanical error during transcription from index cards (for example, due to the inversion *recto*/*verso* of the card). Similar observations resulted from the analysis of the collection of the Franciscan John of Wales who was probably working with thematic index cards himself, the way Robert Grosseteste had already done. This method forms part of the tools and practices of indexation inspired by biblical concordances which were very popular at the time in the same context and it must have been familiar to the the compiler of the *AN*.[20]

The Work on the Text of the *DM* and the Manuscript Tradition of Caesarius's Work

The analysis of Arnold's practices of selection and indexation of stories allowed us, as it were, to enter his workshop, and it is now time to focus more closely on this method. His work on Caesarius's text consists in copying it rather faithfully, the way he did with all his sources. Arnold almost never changes the plot

20 See Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales. A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth Century Friar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 37–40 and Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "The Verbal Concordance to the Scripture," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974): 5–30, especially pp. 22–5 for the influence of the concordances that becomes rather important in the first decade of the fourteenth century and at first in the Parisian Dominican circles, where this method had been elaborated. I would like to thank Nicole Bériou for pointing these important parallels out to me.

of the story; he brings up to date neither the characters nor the places where the action takes place; he also reproduces most of Caesarius's lexical choices. When he diverges from his source, he does so in order to simplify and condense the story. Arnold cuts out all the information about the oral provenance and transmission which was, by contrast, essential in the *DM* as they served to guarantee the reliability of the facts being told and to showcase the impressive network of the author's contacts in the Cistercian universe. Furthermore, Arnold gets rid of all intra-textual references and exchanges between the Monk and the Novice at the end of each chapter that were supposed to provide the moral of the story and to give the *exempla* a place in the dialogical framework of the *DM*. In fact, once the meta-frame of the dialogue was abandoned and the system of classification by entry adopted, these elements became superfluous, because the moralising function was relegated to the captions (where Arnold sometimes repeats some of Caesarius's statements) and also to the intra-textual system of references of the *AN*. In addition, we can observe a simplification of the syntax, a contraction of the rhythm of the narration and the abandonment of stylistic figures such as *similitudines.* On the other hand, Arnold rather faithfully reproduces direct speech even if sometimes, for example in the case of longer *exempla*, he abbreviates the dialogues and leaves some information out in order to retain only the most important passages, as can be observed in the following story:

DM XI, 20	*AN* 496
Miles quidam sceleratissimus ab inimicis suis captus est et occisus. Qui cum moreretur, **haec ei verba ultima fuerunt** : "Domine miserere mei." In cuius morte quidam obsessus liberatus est. Quem cum post dies paucos atrocius vexaret, sicut supra dictum est de Konone, capitulo decimo septimo, interrogatus **de hoc** respondit : "Multi congregati fuimus in morte militis illius, sed quia nihil ibi obtinuimus, amplius **in hoc meo vasculo** me vindico." Requisitus de causa, subiecit :	Miles. Miles malus per seram penitentiam saluatur. Cesarius. Miles quidam sceleratissimus ab inimicis suis est occisus. Qui cum moreretur, hoc tantum dixit: "Domine miserere mei!" In cuius morte quidam obsessus liberatus est. Quem cum post paucos dies demon atrocius uexaret, interrogatus quare hoc faceret, respondit: "Multi congregati fuimus in morte militis illius, sed quia nihil obtinuimus, ibi uindicabo me amplius

"Tria tantum heu verba **moriens protulit**, propter quae potestatem nostram evasit." Ecce huic praedoni ob invocationem divini nominis, sicut latroni in cruce, tormentum versum est in martyrium.

Novicius: **In hoc exemplo satis considero quod poenitentia vera nunquam sit sera.** Monachus : Duo subiungam exempla, per quae cognosces quod extrema contritio sit ex multa misericordia Dei.[21]

in isto." Requisitus de dicta, subiecit: "Tria tantum uerba in fine dixit propter que potestatem nostram euasit."[22]

In the story of the repentance of the dying villainous knight and of its consequences (the anger of the devils who came for him and their attempt to take their revenge on the possessed man), Arnold leaves out the elements that must have seemed redundant to him (underlined passages: the clarification "captus est," secondary and implied; the internal reference to Chapter 17 of the same *distinctio*; the exclamation "heu"; the comparison to the Good Thief; the Monk's

21 A very wicked knight was taken and killed by his enemies. Dying, his last words were: "Oh God, have pity on me." Upon his death a possessed man was liberated. Having been terribly tortured by the devil a few days later, as we have told above on the subject of Konon in Chapter 17, the possessed man was interrogated on this subject and replied: "Several of us have reunited for this knight's death but, since we could not obtain anything, I am taking my revenge more strongly on this small vase that belongs to me." When interrogated about the reason, he added: "Alas, he, dying, said these three words only and thanks to them he escaped from our power." This is how thanks to the invocation of God's name, the same way as for the thief on the cross, the punishment of this robber was transformed into martyrdom. Novice: From this example I understand very well that true penitence is never late. Monk: I shall add two examples in which you will see that contrition on the point of death comes from the great mercy of God.

22 Knight. A wicked knight is saved by a late penitence. Caesarius. A very wicked knight was killed by his enemies. Dying, he only said this: "Oh God, have pity on me." Upon his death, a possessed man was liberated. Having been terribly tortured by the devil a few days later, he was asked about the reason and he replied: "Several of us have reunited for the death of this knight, but, since we could not obtain anything, so I will take my revenge more strongly on this one." Interrogated on his words, he added: "At the end he only said these three words and thanks to them he escaped our power." This exemplum also applies to contrition and to prayer.

concluding remark) and abbreviates other passages (printed in bold). Also, he finds the inspiration for his caption in the Novice's remark in the *DM* but he reinterprets it, maybe preferring a more descriptive and factual statement to the speculative and pedagogical one characteristic of Caesarius's text. Arnold's conservative approach prevents us from qualifying his work as 'rewriting' and instead brings to mind the notion of 'abbreviation.'

However, Arnold's approach presents a number of advantages not only for the detection of errors attributable to the copyists, but also helps us trace the exact version of the *DM* that Arnold must have consulted. It goes without saying that such speculation cannot yield reliable conclusions for as long we lack a detailed knowledge of the vast manuscript tradition of the *DM*, if not a new critical edition. For the moment, therefore, I shall limit myself to suggesting that, within the limits of our current knowledge, the copy of the *DM* that Arnold was consulting presents some similarities with the textual version given by manuscript C of Strange's edition, that is ms. Cologne, Historical Archives, Gymnasialbibliothek, fol. 87 (dating from 1440).

Here are some examples. The entry *Iudeus* (Jew) of the *AN* contains only one *exemplum* (411) and tells the story of a Jew's daughter. The girl falls pregnant by a cleric, and, fearing her father's wrath, the lovers claim that she is expecting a Messiah. After the birth of a girl, the parents' enthusiasm gives place to anger.[23] According to the *AN*, these events took place "In civitate Lemovicensi" (in the city of Limoges), whereas the edition of the *DM* stated "in civitate, ut opinor, Wormacia" (in the city, I believe, of Worms: *DM* II, 24). Of all the manuscripts surveyed by Strange, only the Cologne manuscript gives the variant used by Arnold.[24] Furthermore, in the *AN*, *exemplum* 427 closes the rubric dedicated to justice and tells about a bishop who refused communion to a dying man because during confession the latter had not admitted to the murder of his nephew. The nobleman replied that it was in fact an act of justice because the murdered man had wanted to rape a maid and that God himself would give him communion (as can be predicted, the bishop consequently discovered that a host was missing from the pyx). Arnold calls this righter of wrongs "Erkembaldus of Burbair." The same version of the name also figures in

23 For an overview of the anti-Jewish polemic, see Jacques Le Goff, "Le juif dans les *exempla* médiévaux, le cas de l'*Alphabetum narrationum*," in *Le racisme. Mythes et sciences. Mélanges Léon Poliakov*, (ed.) Maurice Olender (Bruxelles: Ed. Complexe, 1980), 209–20. On this tale, see also Pietro Toldo, "Dall'*Alphabetum narrationum*," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur* 117 (1906): 291–99.

24 f. 28v: "in civitate Lemovicensi temporibus nostris"; because the Cologne ms. has a different internal numbering of chapters, this *exemplum* figures in Chapter 21 of *Distinctio* II.

the Cologne manuscript (f. 192r), whereas other manuscripts (and this is also Strange's editorial choice) prefer "Erkenbaldus of Burban" (*DM* IX, 38), that is Erkenbald of Belgium of the well-known legend.[25] Finally, *exempla* 459–460 of the *AN* talk about wolves and are both borrowed from the *DM* (X, 66 and 64), whereas *exemplum* 461 that relates the story of a child who was kidnapped and raised by animals, walked on all fours and howled like them is attributed to a certain Apollonius. Since it was impossible to establish the source Arnold refers to under this name, the provenance of this ancestor of Kipling's Mowgli was in danger of remaining unknown, even though this plot is attested elsewhere, for example in Jacques de Vitry's sermon 186 which attributes it to an oral source ("dicitur") and presents a textual version considerably different from the one found in the *AN*.[26] In fact, this *exemplum* is a word-for-word copy of a remark made by the Novice in the *DM*[27] and this is how the Novice is called in the part of the manuscript tradition that includes the Cologne manuscript (f. 216v). It is significant that it is the only case when Arnold is borrowing his story not from the main part of Caesarius's chapter but from the final exchange between the Monk and the Novice, which means that we do not know whether Apollonius is the name that Arnold systematically attributed to the Novice. Be it as it may, the considerable genealogy of wild children studied, among many others, by Lucienne Strivay, is now enriched by another medieval example, created by Caesarius's pen, authenticated by the Novice's eyewitness account in the *DM* and then transmitted through the intermediary of the *AN*.[28]

Caesarius's *auctoritas*

In the final section of this article I would like to address the question of what type of *auctoritas* Arnold sees in Caesarius by examining its extent, its areas of application and its foundations. As has already been pointed out, among the sources of the *AN* Caesarius's work has a 'nominal' pre-eminence. The *DM* is present on Arnold's desk together with other thirteenth-century collections,

25 Laura A. Hibbard, "Erkenbald the Belgian: A Study in Medieval Exempla of Justice," *Modern Philology* 17, no. 12 (1920), 669–78, but also, especially for the later tradition, Cindy L. Vitto, *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989), 50–9 (53, note for the *Alphabetum*).

26 *The* exempla *or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, (ed.) Thomas Frederick Crane (London: Nutt, 1890), n° 186, 78. For other occurrences, see Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, n° 5349.

27 I would like to thank Victoria Smirnova, to whom I owe these observations.

28 Lucienne Strivay, *Enfants sauvages: approches anthropologiques* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006).

but the Dominican cites Caesarius more often than others and takes care to refer to him even when he does not need to (see *exemplum* 96, discussed above). A comparison of the treatment given to Caesarius and that reserved to other authors, also well known by Arnold, poses the question: why does Arnold explicitly cite Caesarius 164 times, when he never cites Vincent of Beauvais, from whom he borrows more than 130 *exempla*, or up to 300 if we add the uncertain cases? And why is there a difference in the treatment of Caesarius and Jacobus of Voragine? This discrepancy becomes even more puzzling when we consider that Arnold opens his prologue with a mention of his Order and its founder's vocation of preaching and thus he might be expected to stress the contribution of Vincent of Beauvais and Jacobus of Voragine rather than the Cistercian's influence.[29]

It has been suggested that Arnold's predilection for Caesarius should be explained by his attachment to the city of Liège and its surroundings, and that the same fondness characterises his approach to Sigebert of Gembloux, Jacques de Vitry and the *Chronographus* (the latter mostly used in the *Compendium*).[30] I would, however, like to point out that this hypothesis alone is not enough to provide an explanation. On the one hand, Sigebert and Jacques de Vitry are used less and with less respect than Caesarius, as Arnold often turned to their texts as undeclared intermediary sources. On the other hand, the material that Arnold borrows from the *DM* is not specifically concerned with local memory. Therefore, without undermining the importance of the geographical aspect, we should also take into account other factors internal to Caesarius's text.

I shall start by focusing on the *DM*'s own characteristics which explain Arnold's usage of this work and the special status he bestows on its author. The *Speculum historiale* presents itself as a work of compilation and, since Vincent of Beauvais was indicating his own sources at the beginning of his chapters, his work lends itself easily to being used as an undeclared source when citing other, more ancient, *auctoritates*. By contrast, the *DM* claims to be an original compilation that relates stories that happened in the recent past and that the author had personally been informed about. At the root of the 'nominal' pre-eminence given by Arnold to Caesarius (over Vincent of Beauvais as well as other recent authors) we find both a technical restriction (the fact that the *DM* does not make reference to earlier written sources and cannot therefore be used as just another intermediary source) and the success of Caesarius's

29 *AN*, Prologue, l. 11–13: "Legimus etiam deuotum predicatorem Predicatorum Ordinis fundatorem, beatum uidelicet Dominicum, hoc fecisse" (We read that also the devoted founder of the Black Friars, St Dominic, did the same).

30 Welter, *L'*Exemplum, 308.

discursive strategy (the narrator presents himself as someone reporting true stories whose trustworthiness is authenticated solely by his word). Arnold's receptivity to these aspects of Caesarius's construction of his own authorial persona is confirmed by the fact that he reproduces some of the Cistercian's techniques. For example, even though many authors give their names in the form of an acrostic at the beginning of their works, it is possible that Arnold first encountered it in the *DM*. Similarly, Arnold uses some stories that he himself bore witness to and refers to himself as the *Narrator* in the space usually reserved for the indication of sources.[31]

As we have already noticed, Arnold borrows from the *DM* throughout the *AN* but selects his stories according to thematic criteria. Caesarius is not used for the entries dedicated to saints and other historical characters about whom he had little original material to offer; by contrast, the *DM* is very much present in all the entries concerning, so to speak, topical questions, that is such subjects as socio-professional figures, socio-religious practices etc. We can consider the entries that contain exclusively *exempla* borrowed from Caesarius: these include tales dedicated to conflicts about boundary markings,[32] heretics, lepers, necromancy, simony etc.[33] The same is true about the entries for which the *DM* constitutes not the exclusive, but the most important source.[34] The relative chronological and cultural proximity with Caesarius and the Cistercian's approach to reporting the stories that could be called 'sensationalist' make the *DM* an excellent source of tales illustrating spectacular punishments for

31 That is, the *exempla* of the *AN* n° 5, 101, 260, 338, 443, 530, 541, 782. The fact that Caesarius's use of the acrostic may have served as the model for Arnold's prologue of the *AN* was noticed by Welter, *L'exemplum*, 307, note 52.

32 See Jacques Berlioz, "Conflits de bornage et visions infernales. Deux récits du *Recull de eximplis e miracles* (XV^e^ siècle)," *Frontières* (Université de Perpignan) 2 (1992): 21–44.

33 The *AN* entries that only contain *exempla* from the *DM*: 46–7: *Ager* (same order than in Caesarius); 288–89: *Dormitio*; 357–58: *Hereticus* (same order); 368–69: *Hore*; 400–2: *Invidia* (modified order); 447–48: *Leprosus* (same order); 459–61: *Lupus/Lupa* (for which see *supra*); 462–65: *Luxuria* (modified order); 572–73: *Nigromantia* (modified order); 596–7: *Odium* (modified order); 710–11: *Sacramentum* (modified order); 715–17: *Scientia* (same order); 732–33: *Symonia* (modified order); 734–35: *Simplicitas* (modified order).

34 *AN* entries where *exempla* borrowed from the *DM* are in the majority: 122–26: *Cantus*, with the bloc 123–25 from Caesarius; 160–64: *Communio*, 4 first *exempla* borrowed from Caesarius; 172–83: *Confessio – Confessoris*, of which 172–77 and 179–82 are from Caesarius; 205–9: *Contritio*, 4 first *exempla* from Caesarius; 247–62: *Demon*, the bloc 252–59 from Caesarius; 351–56: *Gula*, the bloc 352–55 from Caesarius; 496–501: *Miles*, 3 first *exempla* and the story number 500 borrowed from Caesarius; 702–8: *Sacerdos*, the bloc 704–8 from Caesarius; 803–12: *Usurarius*, 4 first *exempla* from Caesarius.

those who transgress the rules of good Christian conduct, as well as miraculous rewards awaiting the righteous.

If Arnold recognised the value of the *DM* as a source of *exempla* on contemporary topics, it seems that he also took real pleasure in reading and copying Caesarius's stories. This becomes apparent in the entries consisting of a single *exemplum* from Caesarius's collection, which is the case of 22 entries[35] – a considerable number compared to other sources. These entries sometimes contain bizarre and funny tales, as if, having read a story that was to his taste, Arnold wanted to showcase it by dedicating a separate entry to it. Two examples will give us an idea of the nature of the pleasure given by Caesarius's work.

The protagonist of the first story knew that swallows come back every spring and was wondering where they spend winter. In order to find out, he attached to one of the birds' foot a little note that read: "Where do you live in winter?" The following year the birds came back and he received another note: "In Asia, at Peter's house," stating that this man Peter had attached it to the swallow's foot.[36] All the other *exempla* of the *AN* dedicated to animals have a moral lesson, but it is difficult to find one in this particular story and this is one of the rare stories at the end of which Arnold does not provide cross-references, as if this tale could not have any other interpretations. In fact, in Caesarius's collection the *exemplum* of the swallows satisfied the Novice's curiosity expressed at the end of the previous chapter but it also served a purpose outside the logic of the narrative: it was a source of entertainment aimed at keeping the reader's attention focused. One could possibly argue that the Dominican included this story in the *AN* in order to dedicate an entry to swallows. But Arnold had at his disposal several *exempla* on this subject which had a much more solid moral lesson, for example one from Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares*.[37] In short, it would be difficult to find any other reason for including this *exemplum* except the pleasure of reading about this extraordinary experience of intercontinental communication and Arnold's sensitivity to, even approval of Caesarius's use of entertainment for pedagogical purposes.[38]

35 That is: 121: *Buffo*; 146: *Cineres*; 157: *Columba*; 197: *Constantia*; 241: *Decima*; 360: *Hyrundo*; 364: *Honor*; 411: *Iudeus*; 428: *Iuuentus*; 437: *Lantgrauius*; 459: *Lupus*; 492: *Mensura*; 495: *Meretrix*; 502: *Minutio*; 640: *Periurium*; 648: *Praeceptum*; 649: *Praedestinatio*; 679: *Pusillanimitas*; 695: *Reliquie*; 697: *Remuneratio*; 760: *Te deum*; 761: *Tempestas.*

36 *AN* 360, borrowed from *DM* X, 59.

37 *The* exempla *or Illustrative Stories*, n° 101, 47.

38 Arnold's position on this subject is very well explained in the Prologue, where he stresses that the *exempla* are retained "libentius" (with more pleasure), but also in the opening story of the collection that, in the voice of St Anselm, denounces excess rigidity in Christian education. On the necessity of entertainment, see Carlo Delcorno, "Les dialogues des

Another *exemplum* of this type further illustrates this point. It is a story from the entry "Pusillanimity": a knight who became a member of the Cistercian Order is urging a friend to do the same, but the latter is unenthusiastic because of . . . lice! The former tries to tease him, saying: "Qui in bello diaboli non timuit gladios, in militia Christi timere debet pediculos? Auferent tibi nunc pediculi regnum Dei?" (You, so brave in the war against the devil, are afraid of lice in Christ's combat! Do lice drag you far away from God's Kingdom?), and so the second knight renounces the world and joins the Cistercian Order.[39] As usual, Arnold omits the data concerning the origins of the story and abbreviates Caesarius's text. As the result of the abbreviation, the link between the Cistercian Order and lice is lost (Caesarius explains that the monks' woollen habits attract parasites). More importantly, if in Caesarius's text the apologia *pro domo sua* and the attack on arrogant and squeamish attitudes of the *milites* are central to the didactic function of the *exemplum*, for Arnold these elements, although present, appear secondary in comparison to the irony used in the exchange between the protagonists. This impression is confirmed in the cross-reference at the end of the entry: "This example is also valid for preaching." The reference to the entry *Predicatio* changes the meaning of the story and invites us to read it as an *exemplum* of effective speech. The pleasure that Arnold takes in reading the *DM* results from the acknowledgement of the value of the rhetoric of persuasion perfected by Caesarius. This rhetoric enables the monk to talk back to the cowards by ridiculing their fears, to stress the greatness of salvation using unexpected and vivid oppositions (here the tiny insects that could stand in the way of a knight preventing him from saving his soul), to win souls over to God with a smile as well as surprise and fear.

It is precisely these details that Arnold never fails to preserve when abbreviating Caesarius's texts. Surprising miracles, breath-taking punishments, dialogues full of irony and sometimes of biting sarcasm are faithfully preserved in the 'scenarios' gathered in the *AN*. I am using the word 'scenario' here in

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pères du désert et les *exempla* des prédicateurs," in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire au Moyen Âge*, (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 2012), 23–53. The other functions justifying the use of *exempla* in preaching, for example the function of simplification of the doctrine and mnemotechnical function, are also presented in the Prologue and are widely used in this genre. For the *topoi* of the genre, see Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Les prologues des recueils d'*exempla* (XIII^e^–XIV^e^ siècles). Une grille d'analyse," in *La predicazione dei Frati dalla metà del '200 alla fine del '300* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 268–99, and Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Les prologues des recueils d'*exempla*," in *Les prologues médiévaux*, (ed.) Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 275–321.

39 AN 679, from *DM* IV, 48.

its technical, terminological sense of *canovaccio* to suggest a comparison with the *Commedia dell'arte* several centuries later: since the *AN* was designed as a sort of catalogue for the use of preachers, the stories did not have a fixed, independent status but had to be used and enacted, and each performance would be different from the next. Now it was the task of the preachers to adapt the stories for different audiences, to bring the characters and contexts up to date. With his rich collection of narrative material, Arnold made available to his audiences a fine lesson in Cistercian rhetoric.

In conclusion, the combination of these different factors – the nature of the *DM* and its successful strategy of authentifying events through the author's self, chronological proximity where contemporary topics are concerned, and Arnold's approval of Caesarius's rhetoric – lead Arnold to bestow on Caesarius the status of a new *auctoritas* and consider him as an equal to more ancient and better known authorities such as the author of the *Lives of the Fathers*, Valerius Maximus or Gregory the Great.

CHAPTER 8

Dialogus miraculorum: The Initial Source of Inspiration for Johannes Gobi the Younger's *Scala coeli*?

Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu

Jacques Berlioz has already addressed the use of Cistercian *exempla* by the mendicant friars in his study of the first part (*The Gift of fear*) of Stephen of Bourbon's vast compilation the *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (*Treaty on different matters worthy of a sermon*, also known as *The Book of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit*) produced between 1250 and 1261.[1] This study points to a small number (five in total) of explicit borrowings from Hélinand of Froidmont, the *Collectaneum Clarevallense* and a local *Exordium*; it also uncovers two interesting parallels with the *Collectio exemplorum Cisterciensis* and the *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*. Two oral Cistercian sources should also be added: Philip of Montmirail, founder of seven monasteries and an "old monk encountered in Clairvaux." Caesarius of Heisterbach is never mentioned in Stephen of Bourbon's collection which comprises around three thousand *exempla*. The number of references is very small, even though they suggest that the Dominicans had a good knowledge of the Cistercians. Indeed, Stephen of Bourbon visited several of the white monks' monasteries (including Clairvaux) as part of his journeys as a preacher and inquisitor.

It is therefore pertinent to investigate by which other means Caesarius of Heisterbach's *exempla* were circulated and how they may have found their way into mendicants' collections. Elisa Brilli addressed this question in relation to the *Alphabetum narrationum* by the Dominican Arnold of Liège (or of Seraing). In the present article, a later Dominican work – Johannes Gobi the Younger's *Scala coeli* – will be studied.

1 Jacques Berlioz, "Du monastère à la place publique. Les *exempla* cisterciens chez Étienne de Bourbon, † v. 1261," in *Le tonnerre des exemples. Exempla et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, (eds.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Pascal Collomb, Jacques Berlioz (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 241–56. See also Polo de Beaulieu, "De l'*exemplum* monastique à l'*exemplum* mendiant: continuités et ruptures," in *Didaktisches Erzählen. Formen literarischer Belehrung in Orient und Okzident*, (eds.) Regula Forster and Romy Günthart (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 55–84.

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Johannes Gobi the Younger, a Dominican friar from the South of France, was the author of two widely circulated works. The first, a dialogue between himself, at the time prior of the convent of Alès, and a ghost named Gui de Corvo, a citizen of that town, was written around 1323. This unusual dialogue, revised at the end of the fourteenth century, achieved considerable popularity; it was preserved in more than a hundred manuscripts, was translated into almost every European language before the end of the fifteenth century and was later available in print. Johannes Gobi's second work, *Scala coeli*,[2] is better known now, but in the Middle Ages it was less popular. It was written in the royal convent of St Maximin in 1327–1330, when Johannes Gobi was a lector there. His uncle, Johannes Gobi the Elder, was prior of this prestigious convent from 1304 to 1328.

Historians of the Dominican Order Quétif and Échard believe that Johannes Gobi the Younger died around 1350, when the Black Death was raging in Europe.[3] The *Scala coeli* is a vast collection of around a thousand *exempla* divided into 122 rubrics following the alphabetical order from *Abstinentia* to *Usura*. In the intellectual landscape of the beginning of the fourteenth century Johannes Gobi the Younger occupies an intermediary position. In his first work, he integrates Thomist theology but presents it in dialogue form, using simple and expressive vocabulary and vivid imagery. In his *Scala coeli*, Johannes Gobi places the rubrics in the alphabetical order. It was a relatively new technique, invented by the English Franciscans at the end of the thirteenth century and introduced on the Continent by a fellow Dominican Arnold of Liège in his *Alphabetum narrationum*.[4] In his *exemplum* compilation, Johannes Gobi demonstrates a strong taste for systematic shortening of stories, which, however, does not prevent him from occasionally inserting allegorical exegesis (also known as moralisation), as yet little used in this type of writing, as well as a number of long passages reminiscent of romances such as *Le Roman des Sept Sages de Rome* (in the rubric *Femina* – woman) and Jean Maillart's *Le Roman du comte d'Anjou.* Several of the plotlines of the latter are summarized in the rubric *Elemosina*, dedicated to the giving of the alms.

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2 *La "Scala coeli" de Jean Gobi*, (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: CNRS, 1991) and Polo de Beaulieu, *Éducation, prédication et cultures au XIVe siècle. Essais sur Jean Gobi le Jeune († 1350)* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1999).

3 Jacques Quétif, Jacques Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ballard-Simart, 1719; repr. Paris: Picard, 1910–1914), 633.

4 Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Recueils franciscains d'*exempla* et perfectionnement des techniques intellectuelles du XIIIe au XVe siècle," in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 135 (1977): 5–21.

All of these features make the *Scala coeli* a very original work and pose the question of sources. First of all, it is important to consider what kind of books the author could have been reading. The exact contents of the St Maximin library are impossible to establish for the period when Johannes Gobi the Younger was a lector there. St Maximin received a large part of the library of St Louis of Anjou (Louis of Toulouse, 1274–1297), who died in nearby Brignoles. The second son of Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples and count of Provence, St Louis of Anjou was canonized in 1317. This young man spent seven years (1288–1295) as the king of Aragon's hostage. While in captivity, he was surrounded by Franciscan friars and had access to many books.[5] In his will, he divided his books between his companions, namely brothers Pierre Scarrier and François Brun (who were also prisoners with him in Aragon).[6] Charles II bought this bequest from them in 1299 and presented the books to the Dominicans of St Maximin. These manuscripts constituted the foundation of the library that was to become "one of the most important collections assembled by the mendicant orders in France," according to Christine Gadrat who is drawing on the findings of Bernard Gui.[7] Gadrat tried to reconstruct the holdings of the library of St Louis of Anjou using a number of different sources. She argues that it contained three works ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux (*Meditationes*, *De consideratione* and his correspondence), manuscripts of the Bible (including a glossed Bible in eleven volumes), liturgical books (two breviaries, one missal, one *officiarium*, one *responsorium*), Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* and *Flores sanctorum*. The 19 books that Gadrat lists could not even begin to account for the extent of the library, if we were to believe one of the witnesses of the process of canonisation of Louis of Toulouse (Bermond de Roca), who claimed that six or

5 Christine Gadrat, "La bibliothèque de saint Louis d'Anjou, évêque de Toulouse," *Revue Mabillon* 75, n.s. 14 (2003): 179–202.

6 François Brun and Pierre Scarrier testified in the process of canonisation. François Brun († 1321) had known Louis of Anjou from the latter's birth and was his confessor. He had been chaplain of the King of Naples before he started serving his son. In 1306, when he was appointed bishop of Gaeta, he became close with King Robert, Louis of Anjou's brother. Pierre Scarrier († 1316), on the other hand, had been young Louis's tutor during the latter's captivity. He had taught him letters, logic, natural sciences and theology, which gives an idea of the kind of books that might have been needed for this type of education. See Gadrat, "La bibliothèque de saint Louis d'Anjou," 189.

7 "l'une des plus importantes collections réunies par des ordres mendiants en France": Gadrat, "La bibliothèque de saint Louis d'Anjou," 191. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et Provinciae*, (ed.) Paul Amargier (Rome: Institutum historicum fratrum praedicatorum, 1961), 275–77.

seven mules were needed to transport all of the young Saint's books.[8] The collection of the library of St Maximin was considerably expanded by the bequest of the library of King René († 1480). The inventory compiled by the archivist of the Accounts Chamber of Provence in 1508 (before the dispersion of the library) mentions 238 volumes, 22 of which are printed books.[9] A distinction is made between the working library and the display library. The former contains works that had belonged to St Louis of Anjou and later additions to his bequest and the latter comprises books bequeathed by King René himself (1480). The archivist notes that some of the works mentioned in an earlier (now lost) inventory are missing. It is possible that by 1508 some of St Louis of Anjou's books (as precious as relics) had disappeared. Bernard Montagnes edited the inventory of the working library in which "the majority of the books that had belonged to St Louis of Toulouse could be found" ("se trouvait l'essentiel des livres qui avaient appartenu à saint Louis de Toulouse").[10] This inventory contains copies of the Bible, often with glosses, exegetical works and biblical commentaries, works by the Holy Fathers (especially St Augustine) and the twelfth and thirteenth-century theologians (most importantly Thomas Aquinas), philosophical tractates (especially by Aristotle), canon law books, collections of sermons and a certain number of books the exact nature of which is hard to determine because the catalogue entry is so vague, e.g. "de multis materiis" (n° 185). In the end, this exceptional collection was dispersed and very few of its manuscripts have been identified in the modern libraries. It would therefore be very difficult to venture any hypotheses about the books that Johannes Gobi may have had at his disposal.

If we refer to the list of sources that the author of the *Scala coeli* claims to have used and mentions in the Prologue, we immediately notice the absence of Cistercian authors, and therefore of Caesarius of Heisterbach. Apart from the mandatory list of *auctoritates* – Jerome's Bible commentaries,[11] *Vitae Patrum*, Gregory the Great's *Dialogi, Historia scholastica*, Jacques de Vitry (to whom *Speculum exemplorum* is attributed) – Johannes Gobi also mentions a number of fellow Dominicans and their works: the *Summa* by Vincent of Beauvais, "the big book" (*Ex libro magno de donis Spiritus Sancti* by Stephen of Bourbon who is not named), the *Flores sanctorum* by Jacobus of Voragine, the *Vitae*

8 Gadrat, "La bibliothèque de saint Louis d'Anjou," 189–90.

9 Bernard Montagnes, "La bibliothèque de Saint Maximin en 1508," in *Livres et bibliothèques* (*XIII^e–XV^e s.*), Toulouse, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 31 (1996): 241–59.

10 Gadrat, "La bibliothèque de saint Louis d'Anjou," 191.

11 It is possible that this is the *Prologus beati Geronimi*, mentioned in the 1508 inventory as n° 208.

fratrum (by Gerald Frachet who is not named), and *Alphabetum narrationum* (by Arnold of Liège who is not named). Only one Cistercian work is mentioned in this list: the *Mariale magnum*, compiled in the abbey of Beaupré. This work is the source of the biggest rubric of the *Scala coeli* (no less than 55 *exempla*) dedicated to the Virgin, mother of God.[12]

If we compare the list of the works mentioned by Johannes Gobi and those that were part of the working library (as of 1508), it will become apparent that most of the 'sources' could be found in the library (albeit impossible to date): n° 1–10: biblical texts with glosses, n° 11: *Flores sanctorum* (another name for the *Legenda aurea*?),[13] n° 44: *Historia scholastica*, n° 54: Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, n° 57: *Speculum naturale* by the same author, n° 71: *Liber Gregorii, Ambrosii*, n° 140: *Mariale*, n°151: *Alphabetum narrationum in papiro et parvo volumine*,[14] n° 154: *Liber de donis in pergameno et parvo volumine*. The *exempla* from Jacques de Vitry's sermons (among a number of other collections of sermons)[15] and the *Vitae Patrum* do not figure explicitly in the 1508 list.

Although it is not mentioned in the Prologue, Caesarius of Heisterbach's name appears 63 times in the *exempla* of the *Scala coeli* as the source of exemplary stories ("refert Cesarius").[16] Other authors are referred to in this manner. To mention only the Cistercians, the names of two others, equally not mentioned in the Prologue, appear regularly in the text: Hélinand of Froidmont's chronicle is mentioned eleven times,[17] and Bernard of Clairvaux's works twice (his Ash Wednesday sermons and his sermons on the *Song of Songs*).[18] Cited

12 Of the 55 *exempla* from the rubric *Virgo Dei Genitrix*, 42 come from *Mariale magnum* identified by H. Barré with BnF ms. lat. 3177 (Henri Barré, "L'énigme du *Mariale magnum*," in *Ephemerides mariologicae* 16 (1966), 265–88). However, of these 42 *exempla*, 32 can also be found in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, often used by Johannes Gobi.

13 Among Louis of Anjou's books there is a work called *Flores sanctorum*. It is possible that it is the same work.

14 It is very unlikely that it is the same manuscript as the fourteenth-century volume now at the Bibliothèque Municipale in Marseille (ms. 390, f. 1–129), because, according to the catalogue, it is written on parchment and comes from the charterhouse of Villeneuve-les-Avignon.

15 In the 1508 catalogue, collections of sermons are mentioned under n° 186–91, 193–201, 204–7, and 209–13.

16 A list of these references can be found in the edition of the *Scala coeli*, in the index of authors and works, not paginated.

17 Johannes Gobi claims that he is borrowing from Hélinand de Froidmont the following *exempla*: *Scala coeli*, rubric *Balivus*: *exempla* n° 119, 122, 127, 140, 141; rubric *Bellum*: n° 144, 145; rubric *Consiliarius*: n°, 281; rubric *De graciarum actione*: n° 558; rubric *Luxuria*: n° 626, and rubric *Misericordia*: n° 714.

18 *Scala coeli, exempla* n° 807 and 810 (rubric *De Passione Christi*).

63 times, Caesarius is the third most used source of *exempla* after Stephen of Bourbon and Jacques de Vitry but before the *Vitae Patrum*, Gregory's *Dialogi*, St Jerome and Valerius Maximus.

How are we to explain this explicit predilection for Caesarius of Heisterbach on the part of a Dominican, a member of a different Order living a century later? A number of studies have shown that a certain continuity existed between the Cistercians and the Dominicans in the matters of liturgy, the government of the Order and the cult of the Virgin.[19] Moreover, the two Orders interacted with each other, as is confirmed by the three mentions of the Preachers in the *Dialogus miraculorum* (*DM* henceforth): Caesarius alludes to the Dominican church and the hospital of Mary Magdalen near Cologne (*DM* IX, 56), he cites Henry, the prior of the Dominicans of Cologne, as a witness of a vision (*DM* VI, 37), and, finally, he tells the story of the conversion of a sinful clerk who enters the Dominican Order (*DM* X, 34). These stories are not mentioned by Johannes Gobi, but it is quite possible that the author of the *Scala coeli* was familiar with them. Interestingly, Johannes Gobi cites a story that I could not identify in Caesarius's extant work. In this *exemplum*, a child who lived in a mill house was pestered by crows until he confessed to a Dominican preacher.[20]

Johannes Gobi, a Dominican friar of the early fourteenth century, felt that the Cistercians could provide him with some sources on the subject of preaching. In fact, despite debates on whether the monks had the right to preach,[21] there is a great deal of evidence that sermons were indeed written and given by the Cistercians. Let us revisit the terms of the twelfth-century debate. For the Benedictines Rupert of Deutz († 1129) and Honorius Augustodunensis, the monk-priest is a better minister than a priest who is not a monk. Honorius defends this position vehemently in his treaty *Utrum monachis liceat predicare* and in his *Sermo generalis* divided into eight *sermones ad status* in which he gives advice on good preaching worthy of a mendicant friar a century later. He insists on the models provided by rhetoric "ut rhetorica instruit."[22] The debate

19 Among others, Dominique Donadieu-Rigaut, "Les ordres religieux et le manteau de Marie," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 8 (2001): 107–34; *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine*: *le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIVL1*, (eds.) Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy (Paris-Rome: CNRS-Ecole française de Rome, 2004); Jacques Dalarun, *Gouverner c'est servir – Essai de démocratie médiévale* (Paris: Alma éditeur, 2012).

20 *Scala coeli*, *exemplum* 266.

21 Carolyn Muessig, "Audience and Preacher: *Ad status* Sermons and Social Classification," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 255–76, esp. pp. 257–60.

22 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sermo generalis* used in the *Speculum ecclesie*, PL 172, col. 861A: "... neque caput ut insanus movere, vel os in diversa torquere, sed, ut rhetorica instruit,

continues with Bernard of Clairvaux who wanted monks to return to the monasteries and follow the rules of Gratian's *Decretum* (1140) prescribing silence and prayer within the confines of the religious house for monks. However, Bernard himself frequently left his monastery to preach, especially during his major tour of Gascony in 1145 when he preached against the heretics (and so did other important Cistercian figures, for example the abbot of Bonneval) and in 1147 when he preached the Second Crusade. It is therefore not surprising that Jacques de Vitry, himself a famous preacher between 1229 and 1240, declares that the best preacher of his time is Adam of Perseigne, the Cistercian abbot of Perseigne in the diocese of Le Mans (c. 1145–1221). Preaching, however, does not remain the privilege of abbots. For example, Caesarius mentions in passing, as if it were an everyday occurrence, that a monk is celebrating mass in his own parish.[23] The Cistercians' involvement with preaching (except for the extreme cases of the Crusade and war against heresy) worried Pope Innocent III who sent a letter to the Cistercian abbots on 19 July 1214 in which he mentioned this problem but also the tithes that were being received by the Cistercians and the business affairs in which some of them were involved. These practices were indeed very different from the prescribed flight to the desert and the scorn of the world.[24] Cistercian preaching was another aspect of the monks' activity with which the Dominican friars, who gladly imitated the Cistercians' statutes,

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decenti gestu pronunciare verba composite et humiliter formare" (and not to turn one's head from side to side like a madman and to curl one's mouth but, as rhetoric teaches us, to deliver with dignified gestures and to form words in a composed and humble manner). Text attributed in the fifteenth century to Bernard of Clairvaux in the manuscript entitled "Dicta beati Bernardi," see Jean Leclercq, *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, vol. 3 (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), 160.

23 *DM* I, 24: "Die quadam cum monachus ille, quem bene nosti, missam in eius parochia celebraret" (One day when this monk whom you know well was preaching in his parish). On another occasion, in the sermons *De infantia Servatoris*, Caesarius notes: "Inde est quod propter augmentum maioris meriti, contemplatiui quandoque fiunt actiui. Quod si uerum non esset, membra sua secretiora, monachos scilicet, et eremitas, sancta Ecclesia nequaquam de quiete contemplationis mitteret ad laborem predicationis. Sepius monachi eliguntur in episcopos et de solitariis fiunt predicatores" (This is why to increase their merits, those who lead a contemplative life sometimes lead an active life. If it were not like this, the Holy Church would not tear its innermost members, that is monks and hermits, away from peace and contemplation and would not send them to do the works of preaching. Often monks are elected bishops and from loners become preachers): *Fasciculus moralitatis venerabilis fr. Caesarii Heisterbacensis*, (ed.) Johannes Andreas Coppenstein, vol. 1 (Cologne: Peter Henning, 1615), 55.

24 Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977).

theology and liturgy and drew from their pool of exemplary stories, could identify. Moreover, the division of the *DM* into two volumes of six books each, the second of which is more open to the lay world, could also reinforce the attractiveness of the work for the mendicant brothers who preached *ad populum*. The parallels between the *Scala coeli* and the *DM* were so strong that these two collections of *exempla* were bound or copied together in the same codex.[25]

I shall start by adopting a 'naive' approach and by taking Johannes Gobi's claim that he borrows directly from Caesarius ("refert Cesarius") at face value. The Dominican seems to favour the *DM* at the expense of the *Libri octo miraculorum*[26] with which only two correspondences were found.[27] He chooses Caesarius to embellish the theological rubrics on communion, confession, confessor, contrition and prayer for the dead. There is only one mention of a borrowing from Caesarius in the rubric *ad status* dedicated to the prelates (abbots and bishops both designated by this generic title) and one in each of the two rubrics on sins *Cantus* (as a sign of pride) and *Usura*. The rubrics that make the most use of the *Dialogus* are, in decreasing order of importance: *De confessione* (10 *exempla*), *De contritione* (9), *De tentatione* (7), *De praemio mortuorum* (7), *De miraculis* (6), *De morientibus* (5), *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* (4). Most of the stories chosen by Johannes Gobi focus on a lay hero (32 *exempla* as opposed to 12 *exempla* featuring monks). Sometimes there is no indication of the lay person's social standing (n° 453, 485, 760), in nine cases it is a woman,[28] and in the rest of the *exempla* the occupation or rank of the protagonist is mentioned: fisherman (n° 261), peasant (n° 263), pilgrim (n° 264, 466, 850), merchant (n° 265), knight (8 cases),[29] count (n° 595), provost (n° 943) and usurer (4 cases).[30]

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25 The manuscript in question is the one preserved in Soest, StB, 13, II (discussed by Nicolas Louis in his unpublished thesis, "L'*exemplum* en pratiques: production, diffusion et usages des recueils d'*exempla* latins aux XIII^e^–XV^e^ siècles," 2 vols. (PhD diss., EHESS, Paris and Namur University, 2013), 1:264. N. Louis also points out that there existed a confusion between the *Scala coeli* and the *DM* in the Dutch tradition of the *DM* (ms. Berlin, SBB. germ. Qu. 1122, mentioned: Louis, "L'*exemplum* en pratiques," 1: 266). In the ms. Xanten, Dombibliothek, s.n. the *Scala coeli* is bound together with another one of Caesarius's *exempla* collections, the *Libri octo miraculorum*. See Alfons Hilka's introduction to *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, (ed.) Alfons Hilka, vol. 3 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1937), 6–7.

26 Henceforth *Libri octo miraculorum* will be referred to as *L. VIII*.

27 The *exemplum* of the *Scala coeli* n° 661 could have been borrowed from *L. VIII*: III, 83 and the *exemplum n°* 737 from *L. VIII:* II, 24.

28 *Exempla* about women: *Scala coeli*, n° 80, 83, 235, 260, 268, 308, 312, 351, 604.

29 *Exempla* about knights: *Scala coeli*, n° 315, 422, 423, 621, 661, 736, 743, 857.

30 *Exempla* about usurers: *Scala coeli*, n° 963–966.

There are indications that could mean that Johannes Gobi did indeed have direct access to the *DM*. The first is the identity between a rubric of the *Scala coeli* and a *distinctio* of the *Dialogus*. As can be seen in Table n° 1, this identity (or near identity indicated with a grey background) can be observed in the case of "contrition," "communion," "confession," "Christ's Body" and finally the rubric dedicated to the prayer for the dead, all of which appear to borrow a story from the *Distinctio* XII (*De praemio mortuorum*) of the *DM*.[31]

TABLE 1 Distinctiones *of the* DM *and rubrics of the Johannes Gobi's* Scala coeli

Scala coeli	**Rubric**	***Type/Protagonist***	***Dialogus miraculorum***	***Distinctio***
n. 80	Amor	Woman	X, 34	De miraculis
n. 83	Angeli	Woman/Thief	I, 40	De conversione
n. 97	Avaricia	Monk	IV, 68	De tentatione
n. 166	Cantus	Monk	IV, 9	De tentatione
n. 167	Cantus	Monk	V, 5	De daemonibus
n. 168	Cantus	Monk	IV, 8	De tentatione
n. 169	Cantus	Monk	XII, 4	De praemio mortuorum
n. 232	Communio	Anticlerical	II, 5	De contritione
n. 233	Communio	Anticlerical	Not found	
n. 234	Communio	Anticlerical	**IX, 58**	De corpore Christi
n. 235	Communio	Woman	**IX, 35 et 36**	De corpore Christi
n. 246	Confessio	Monk	**III, 5**	De confessione
n. 254	Confessio	Reappropr. OP[32]	XI, 38	De morientibus
n. 256	Confessio	Monk	**III, 13**	De confessione
n. 260	Confessio	Woman	Not found	
n. 261	Confessio	Fisherman	X, 35	De miraculis
n. 262	Confessio	Anticlerical	**III, 2**	De confessione
n. 263	Confessio	Peasant	XI, 47	De morientibus

31 The *exemplum* of the rubric *Virgo Dei genitrix* (*Scala coeli*, n° 661) was not included here. This story appears to be inspired by Book III of the *L. VIII* dedicated to the miracles of the Virgin (*L. VIII*: III, 83). Hilka thought that it could not be attributed to Caesarius of Heisterbach: Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten*, 3:3–4 and 9–11.

32 "Reappropr. OP" (Dominican reappropriation) here refers to the fact that character in the *DM* (Master Thomas) is presented as a Dominican (St Thomas Aquinas) in the *Scala coeli*. See *infra* p. 206–7.

TABLE 1 *Distinctiones of the* DM *and rubrics of the Johannes Gobi's* Scala coeli (cont.)

Scala coeli	Rubric	*Type/Protagonist*	*Dialogus miraculorum*	*Distinctio*
n. 264	Confessio	Pilgrims	**III, 21**	De confessione
n. 265	Confessio	Merchant	**III, 15**	De confessione
n. 268	Confessor	Woman	**III, 42**	De confessione
n. 269	Confessor	Anticlerical	**III, 47**	De confessione
n. 271	Confessor	Clerk	**III, 50**	De confessione
n. 276	Confessor	Monastic	**II, 2**	De contritione
n. 285	Consuetudo	Wolf child	X, 66	De miraculis
n. 307	Contritio	Anticlerical	VI, 35	De simplicitate
n. 308	Contritio	Woman	**II, 11**	De contritione
n. 311	Contritio	Canon	**II, 15**	De contritione
n. 312	Contritio	Jewess	**II, 22**	De contritione
n. 314	Contritio	St Bernard	**II, 3**	De contritione
n. 315	Contritio	Knight	XI, 20	De morientibus
n. 351	Corpus Christi	Woman	IX, 8	De corpore Christi
n. 352	Corpus Christi	Priest	Cf X, 98	De miraculis
n. 366	Corpus Christi	Monk	IX, 2 Cf *L. VIII*: I, 8	De sacramento corporis et sanguinis JC
n. 422	Decima	Knight	Not found	
n. 453	Discursus	Lay person	IV, 62	De tentatione
n. 466	Ebrietas	Pilgrim	XII, 40	De praemio mortuorum
n. 485	Elemosina	Married couple	XII, 19	De praemio mortuorum
n. 566	Heresis	Heretic	III, 17	De confessione
n. 595	Invidia	Count	XII, 13	De praemio mortuorum
n. 604	Ira	Woman	IV, 22	De tentatione
n. 621	Ludus	Knight	V, 34	De daemonibus
n. 627	Luxuria	Anticlerical	XII, 20	De praemio mortuorum
n. 716	Misericordia	Knight	VIII, 21 / *L. VIII*: II, 35	De diversis visionibus
n. 736	Orare pro mortuis	Knight	XII, 15	De praemio mortuorum
n. 737	Orare pro mortuis	Monk	*L. VIII*: II, 24	
n. 743	Mulier	Knight	VI, 11	De simplicitate
n. 760	Obedientia	Lay persons	IV, 75	De tentatione
n. 850	Peregrinacio	Pilgrim	VIII, 59	De diversis visionibus
n. 857	Perjurium	Knight	IV, 58	De tentatione
n. 868	Perseverancia	Preacher	XII, 49	De praemio mortuorum

Scala coeli	Rubric	*Type/Protagonist*	*Dialogus miraculorum*	*Distinctio*
n. 881	Prelatus	Monk Clairvaux	II, 28	De contritione
n. 885	Prelatus	Prelate	Not found	
n. 891	Prelatus	Prelate, merchant	III, 36	De confessione
n. 921	Religiosus bonus	Monk	X, 9	De miraculis
n. 926	Sacerdos	Anticlerical	V, 8	De daemonibus
n. 943	Testimonium	Provost	VI, 23	De simplicitate
n. 963	Usura	Usurer	**XI, 39**	De morientibus
n. 964	Usura	Usurer	**XI, 41**	De morientibus
n. 965	Usura	Usurer	**II, 33**	De contritione
n. 966	Usura	Usurer	**II, 32**	De contritione

The second indication that Johannes Gobi was borrowing directly from the *DM* is the presence of quotations of complete series of *exempla* from the latter (serial quotation). This can be observed in the rubrics on communion, confession, confessor, and contrition (Table 1: numbers printed in bold).

The third indication is Johannes Gobi's detailed knowledge of the *DM*, exemplified in the citation of a novice's commentary in the form of a story on the subject of the wolf child.[33] This case, however, is unique. Unfortunately, nowhere in the *Scala coeli* is there an almost *verbatim* copy of a story from Caesarius. This difference of style made me doubt the existence of a direct influence. Moreover, five stories introduced by "refert Cesarius" could not have been identified either in Strange's edition of the *DM* or in the *L. VIII*.[34]

In the two cases when Johannes Gobi claims to cite the *L. VIII* he could be borrowing from other works cited in the prologue: Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda aurea* or *Alphabetum narrationum*, *Mariale magnum* and/or Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*.[35] This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that no manuscript of the *L. VIII* has been preserved in France. This

33 *Scala coeli*, rubric *Consuetudo*, n° 285.

34 These are *exempla* n° 167, 233, 260, 352 and 422 of the *Scala coeli*.

35 The *exemplum* of the *Scala coeli* n° 661 could have been borrowed from *L. VIII*, III, 83 (there is a similar version in the *Mariale magnum* II, 30 and in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, VI, 105–106) and the *exemplum n°* 737 from the *L. VIII* 2, 24 (a similar version in the *Legenda aurea* which is then repeated in the *Alphabetum narrationum*).

argument can be extended to the *DM* itself, as only five (out of 60) manuscripts were found in France, but nowhere near St Maximin.[36]

I would like to argue that one of the most important among the works that could have served as an intermediary between the *DM* and the *Scala coeli* is the *Alphabetum narrationum*.[37] This work is mentioned in the Prologue of the *Scala coeli* and present in the 1508 inventory. Johannes Gobi tends to mention the oldest source and omits the intermediary (in this case, the *Alphabetum narrationum*), and serial quotation becomes a very important source of evidence. Thus, in the rubric dedicated to war (*Bellum*), Johannes Gobi's *exempla* attributed to Suetonius (n° 143) and to Hélinand of Froidmont (n° 144–145) follow the same order as in the *Alphabetum narationum* (n° 105–107). The same parallel sequences of *exempla* (with no reference to Caesarius) were observed in the rubrics *Adulterium* (n°38–40), *Advocatus* (n° 44–45), *Elemosina* (n° 471–475), *Misericordia* (n° 707, 713, 716), *Mors* (n° 732, 733, 733D) and *Obedientia* (n° 760–765) of the *Scala coeli*. All these examples would require a special study that it would not be possible to conduct here. However, the importance of these parallel sequences in the *Scala coeli* and the *Alphabetum narrationum* cannot be underestimated.[38]

Let us therefore focus on the 'silent' (unmarked) borrowings of Caesarius's stories by Johannes Gobi from Arnold of Liège. The first indication of the concordance between the rubrics of the *Scala coeli* and those of the *Alphabetum narrationum* is very convincing as is demonstrated in Table 2, where serial quotations (printed in bold) stand out for the rubrics *Cantus*, *Confessio*, *Contritio*, *Corpus Christi*, *Orare pro mortuis* and *Usura*.

It needs, however, to be pointed out that only one almost *verbatim* copy of an *exemplum* from the *Alphabetum narrationum* by Johannes Gobi (n° 366)[39] was identified. Parts of the text shared by the two collections are printed on grey background.

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36 The nine extant manuscripts of the *L. VIII* are in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Extant manuscripts of the *DM* in France: Paris, BnF, lat. 3597, Troyes, BM, 592 and 641 (from Clairvaux), Charleville, BM, 233, and Douai, BM, 397.

37 Arnoldus Leodiensis, *Alphabetum narrationum*, (ed.) Elisa Brilli, Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 160 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). I would like to thank Elisa Brilli for allowing me to use the texts of the *exempla* in the preparation of this article before the publication of the edition.

38 There is a need for a study of Stephen of Bourbon's collection which, along with Arnold of Liège's work, is mentioned at the same time in Jean Gobi's Prologue and in the inventory of the working library of St Maximin.

39 It is the Eucharistic miracle told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* IX, 2 and studied by Victoria Smirnova in the present collection, p. 127–31.

TABLE 2 *Some comparisons between the* DM*, the* Alphabetum narrationum *and the* Scala coeli

Scala coeli	Rubric	*Alphabetum narrationum*	*Dialogus miraculorum*	*Distinctio*
n. 80	Amor	495 (Meretrix)	X, 34	De miraculis
n. 83	Angeli	71 (Angelus)	I, 40	De conversione
n. 97	Avaricia	372 (Hospitalitas)	IV, 68	De tentatione
n. 166	Cantus	**124 (Cantus)**	IV, 9	De tentatione
n. 167	Cantus	**126C (Cantus)**	V, 5	De daemonibus
n. 168	Cantus	**123 (Cantus)**	IV, 8	De tentatione
n. 169	Cantus	**125 (Cantus)**	XII, 4	De praemio mortuorum
n. 232	Communio	707 (Sacerdos)	II, 5	De contritione
n. 233	Communio	Not found	Not found	
n. 234	Communio	Not found	IX, 58	De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi
n. 235	Communio	**160 (Communio)**	IX, 35	De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi
n. 246	Confessio	**Cf. 171 (Confessio)**	Cf. III, 5	De confessione
n. 254	Confessio	**172 (Confessio)**	XI, 38	De morientibus
n. 256	Confessio	Cf 256 (Demon)	III, 13	De confessione
n. 260	Confessio	Not found	Not found	
n. 261	Confessio	**173 (Confessio)**	X, 35	De miraculis
n. 262	Confessio	**177 (Confessio)**	**III, 2**	De confessione
n. 263	Confessio	46 (Ager)	XI, 47	De morientibus
n. 264	Confessio	**174 (Confessio)**	**III, 21**	De confessione
n. 265	Confessio	**175 (Confessio)**	**III, 15**	De confessione
n. 268	Confessor	**180 (Confessor)**	**III, 42**	De confessione
n. 269	Confessor	**181 (Confessor)**	**III, 47**	De confessione
n. 271	Confessor	**182 (Confessor)**	**III, 50**	De confessione
n. 276	Confessor	77 (Apostasia)	II, 2	De contritione
n. 285	Consuetudo	461 (Lupus)	X, 66	De miraculis
n. 307	Contritio	**205 (Contritio)**	VI, 35	De simplicitate
n. 308	Contritio	**206A (Contritio)**	II, 11	De contritione
n. 311	Contritio	**208 (Contritio)**	II, 15	De contritione
n. 312	Contritio	**207 (Contritio)**	II, 23	De contritione
n. 314	Contritio	799 (Voluntas)	II, 3	De contritione
n. 315	Contritio	496 (Miles)	XI, 20	De morientibus
n. 351	Corpus Christi	**711 (Sacramentum)**	IX, 8	De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi
n. 352	Corpus Christi	Not found	Cf. X, 98	De miraculis

TABLE 2 *Some comparisons between the* DM*, the* Alphabetum narrationum *and the* Scala coeli (cont.)

Scala coeli	Rubric	*Alphabetum narrationum*	*Dialogus miraculorum*	*Distinctio*
n. 366	Corpus Christi	**710 (Sacramentum)**	IX, 2 Cf. *L. VIII*: I, 8	De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi
n. 422	Decima	Not found	Not found	
n. 423	Decima	241 (Decima)	X, 13	De miraculis
n. 453	Discursus	428 (Juventus)	IV, 62	De tentatione
n. 466	Ebrietas	290 (Ebrietas)	XII, 40	De praemio mortuorum
n. 485	Elemosina	304 (Elemosina)	XII, 19	De praemio mortuorum
n. 566	Heresis	357 (Hereticus)	II, 17	De confessione
n. 595	Invidia	Cf 402 (Invidia)	XII, 13	De praemio mortuorum
n. 604	Ira	410 (Ira)	IV, 22	De tentatione
n. 621	Ludus	458 (Ludus)	V, 34	De daemonibus
n. 627	Luxuria	464 (luxuria)	XII, 20	De praemio mortuorum
n. 661	Virgo Dei Genitrix	Not found	*L. VIII*, III, 83	Liber III De miraculis BMV
n. 716	Misericordia	503 (Misericordia)	VIII, 21 *L. VIII*: II, 35	De diversis visionibus
n. 736	Orare pro mortuis	**532 (Mors)**	XII, 15	De praemio mortuorum
n. 737	Orare pro mortuis	**535 (Mors)**	*L VIII* : II, 24	Liber II de miraculis JC
n. 743	Mulier	11 (Abbas) Hoc etiam facit ad bonam uxorem.	VI, 11	De simplicitate
n. 760	Obedientia	585 (Obedientia)	IV, 75	De tentatione
n. 850	Peregrinacio	636 (Peregrinus)	VIII, 59	De diversis visionibus
n. 857	Perjurium	640 (Perjurium)	IV, 58	De tentatione
n. 868	Predicator	650 (Predicatio)	XII, 49	De praemio mortuorum
n. 881	Prelatus	311 (Episcopus)	II, 28	De contritione
n. 885	Prelatus	Not found	Not found	
n. 891	Prelatus	9 (Abbas)	III, 36	De confessione
n. 921	Religiosus bonus	691 (Religiosus)	X, 9	De miraculis
n. 926	Sacerdos	704 (Sacerdos)	V, 8	De daemonibus
n. 943	Testimonium	772(Testimonium)	VI, 23	De simplicitate
n. 963	Usura	**803 (Usurarius)**	XI, 39	De morientibus

Scala coeli	Rubric	*Alphabetum narrationum*	*Dialogus miraculorum*	*Distinctio*
n. 964	Usura	**804 (Usurarius)**	XI, 41	De morientibus
n. 965	Usura	**805 (Usurarius)**	II, 33	De contritione
n. 966	Usura	**806 (Usurarius)**	II, 32	De contritione

In bold: serial quotations
Grey background : identical rubrics in the DM, the *Alphabetum narrationum* and/or *Scala coeli*

Alphabetum narrationum. 710. [Sacramentum]	*Scala coeli*. 366. [Corpus Christi]
Sacramentum altaris deuote celebranti quandoque apparet in specie pueri. Cesarius. Monachus quidam cysterciensis ordinis in die Natalis in quodam altari priuato celebrans cum multa deuotione et lacrimis, facta transsubstantatione, non iam speciem panis sed infantem pulcerrimum uidit, cujus amore succensus et pulchritudine delectus, amplexus est eum et deosculatus. Timens tamen moram propter circumstantes, super corporale reposuit. Ille uero ut missa perfici posset, formam sacramentalem resumpsit. Hoc etiam ualet ad sacerdotem, monachum et devotionem.[40]	Item ad idem. Refert Cesarius quod quidam monachus de ordine Cisterciensium cum in die Natalis in quodam altari celebraret cum lacrimis, facta transsubstantiatione, jam non speciem panis sed infantem pulcerrimum vidit, cujus amore succensus et pulcritudine delectatus et complexus est eum. Et dum sic super corporale reposuisset formam sacramentalem reassumpsit.[41]

40 Sometimes the sacrament of the altar appears to him who celebrates with devotion in the form of a child. Caesarius. A monk of the Cistercian Order who was celebrating with devotion and in tears at a private altar on Christmas day saw, immediately after Transubstantiation, not the form of bread but a very beautiful child. Moved by love for Him and charmed by His beauty, he embraced and kissed Him. But, afraid to delay his assistants, he put Him back on the corporal. He [the child] assumed His sacramental form so that the mass could be finished. This story is also relevant to the rubrics Priest, Monk and Devotion.

41 Again on this subject. Caesarius says that a monk of the Cistercian Order who was celebrating in tears at an altar on Christmas day saw, immediately after Transubstantiation,

In the other cases that were studied in detail, the evidence of Johannes Gobi's rewriting is obvious. Four techniques of rewriting were identified that will be examined below. Johannes Gobi, who has an obvious predilection for conciseness, considerably shortens the stories, going well beyond the abridgment already made by Arnold of Liège.[42] Moreover, he also modifies the *exempla* to make them seem more universal and not limited to a particular locality. As a result, place names and names of characters are usually omitted. This can be observed, for example, in the story of a usuress in agony who sees herself surrounded by crows and dies.

Dialogus miraculorum (De morientibus)

XI, 41. Item de usuraria de Bacheim cuius anima a daemonibus in specie corvorum evulsa est.

Fuerat in Bacheim villa proxima, famosa quaedam usuraria. Haec cum moritura esset, campum totum corvis ac cornicibus vidit repletum. Et clamavit fortiter : "Ecce modo appropinquant ad me!" Et adiecit: "Owi, owi; modo sunt in tecto, modo in domo, modo pectus meum laniant, modo animam meam extrahunt." Sicque cum ululatu efflavit spiritum, a daemonibus ad inferos deducendum. Qui eadem nocte corpus de feretro multis qui aderant videntibus tollentes, usque ad tectum levaverunt, et cum trabi impingerent, iuxta limen ostii illud cadere sinentes confregerunt. Extincta sunt luminaria, fugerunt homines, mane in iam dicto loco corpus reperientes. Quod bestiali sepulturae tradiderunt.[43]

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not the form of bread but a very beautiful child. Moved by love for Him and charmed by His beauty, he embraced Him. When he [the monk] put Him back on the coporal, He assumed His sacramental form again.

42 On Arnold of Liège's reworking of the *exempla* of the DM, see Elisa Brilli's article in the present volume, p. 163–82.

43 On dying. Also on the subject of the usuress of Bacheim whose soul was snatched by demons in the guise of ravens. There was in a town close to Bacheim a well-known usuress. As she was on the point of dying, she saw a field filled with ravens and crows. She cried loudly: "And here they are getting close to me!" And she added: "Owi! Owi! Now they are on the roof, now they are in the house, now they are tearing my chest apart, now they are snatching my soul away." With a scream she expired and the demons took her spirit away to Hell. The same night, they lifted her body out of the coffin up to the roof in plain view of everybody; they hit it on the beam and threw it by the doorstep so that it smashed. The lights went out, the people fled and in the morning they found the body in the same place and gave it an animal's burial.

Alphabetum narrationum (Usurarius)	*Scala coeli* (De usura)
804. Vsurariis aliquando apparent demones in morte. Cesarius. Quedam usuraria moritura uidit totum campum coruis et coruicibus repletum clamauitque fortiter: "Ecce modo appropinquant ad me, owi, owi, modo sunt in tecto, modo sunt in domo, modo pectus meum laniant, modo animam meam extrahunt." Sicque cum ululatu efflauit spiritum. Eadem nocte demones, multis qui aderant uidentibus, corpus tollentes usque ad tectum leuauerunt et cadere sinentes confregerunt. Extincta sunt luminaria, fregerunt homines. In crastino corpus ibi reperientes bestiali sepulture tradiderunt. Hoc etiam ualet ad demones.[44]	964. Item ad idem. Refert Cesarius quod cum quidam usurarius moreretur, vidit campum plenums demonum in specie corvorum. Et dum appropinquarent, clamabat: "Modo sunt super tectum, modo sunt infra domum, modo intrant cameram, modo tangunt lectum, modo sunt supra pedes meos, modo circa cor." Et statim mortuus est.[45]

In Caesarius's and Arnold's *exempla* the usuress is a woman, which is a unique occurrence. Johannes Gobi, however, makes this character a man. The author of the *Scala coeli* omitted all proper names as well as the cries "owi! owi!" emitted by the dying protagonist terrorized by crows. This may be because these cries seemed too 'Germanic' to figure in a collection of *exempla* written in Provence. To make the didactic message of the story even more explicit,

44 Sometimes demons appear to usurers on their deathbed. Caesarius. On the point of dying one usuress saw a field filled with ravens and crows. She cried loudly: "And here they are getting close to me! Owi! Owi! Now they are on the roof, now they are in the house, now they are tearing my chest apart, now they are snatching my soul away." With a scream she expired and the demons took her spirit away to Hell. The same night, they lifted her body out of the coffin up to the roof in plain view of everybody; they hit it on the beam and threw it by the doorstep so that it smashed. The lights went out, the people fled and the next morning they found the body in the same place and gave it an animal's burial. This is also valid for the rubric Demons.

45 Also on this subject. Caesarius says that a usurer on the point of dying saw a field filled with demons under the guise of ravens. When they got close to him, he cried: "Now they are on the roof, now they are in the house, now they are entering the room, now they are touching my bed, now they are on my feet, now they are around my heart." And he died on the spot.

Johannes Gobi explains the meaning of the crows: they are demons. Even though the story is abridged, it is not at the expense of dramatic passages. Moreover, Johannes Gobi reworks and expands the final tirade of the dying protagonist, which now includes a description of how the crows fly into the house, into the room, to the bed and finally approach his heart. The very short final sentence is like a final blow, and it does not leave any doubt about the usurer's damnation. All the usurers of the world will be warned by this terrifying story, which is ideally suited to instill fear – an emotion so dear to the preachers – in the audience. Reported speech plays an important role in raising the dramatic tension of the story but it also represents a particularly efficient way of authentication of a story in a society where orality is still playing an important role: this narrative is trustworthy because the narrator can even quote the words of the main character. These techniques can be found in almost all of Johannes Gobi's *exempla*.

The rewriting of the introduction and conclusion of the stories featuring miracles and moralisation is another significant feature of Johannes Gobi's treatment of the *exempla*. He invents a new ending for the *exemplum* about a priest's concubine who enters a burning oven in order to do penance. The sinner does not die, as in the original, but survives her ordeal thanks to a miracle. This happy ending which demonstrates the power of contrition ("propter contritionis virtutem") resonates with the story's introduction: "A perfect repentance brings us a lot of good. First of all, it frees us from the death of the body" (in bold is the section added by Johannes Gobi).

Dialogus miraculorum (De simplicitate)

VI, 35. De simplici concubina sacerdotis, quae se ipsam in fornace exstinxit.

Sacerdos quidam, sicut mihi retulit quidam vir religiosus, cum die quadam multis praesentibus sermonem haberet de peccatis et poenis gehennae, mulier quaedam verba eius interrumpens, eo quod territa esset et compuncta, sic ait: "O domine, quid fiet de concubinis sacerdotum?" Ille sciens feminam valde simplicis esse naturae, in ioco respondit : "Nunquam poterunt salvari, nisi clibanum ardentem ingrediantur." Erat et ipsa sacerdotis cuiusdam concubina. Quae verbum sacerdotis non in ioco, sed in multo suscipiens serio, dum die quadam clibanus coquendis panibus succenderetur, et ipsa adesset casu, omnibus egressis, ostium clausit, et ut flammas evaderet aeternas, se ipsam in caminum ardentem praecipitans, flammis excepta spiritum exhalavit. In ipsa hora hi qui circa domum fuerant, contemplati sunt columbam candidissimam de ore fornacis exire, et cum multa claritate coeli secreta

penetrare. Stupefacti autem de visione, effractis foribus ingressi sunt, et feminam semiustam atque exstinctam extrahentes, ad verbum praedicti sacerdotis, tanquam proprii corporis interfectricem, in campo sepelierunt. Ut autem Deus ostenderet mortem tam simpliciter illatam, non fuisse ex malitia, sed ex obedientia, noctibus candelis ardentibus, videntibus multis, tumulum eius illustravit.[46]

Alphabetum narrationum (Contritio)	*Scala coeli* (De contritione)
205. Contritio. Contritio perfecta nullam penam corporalem formidat. Cesarius. Sacerdote quodam predicante de peccatis et penis inferni, mulier quedam exclamauit ad eum: "Domine, quid fiet de concubinis sacerdotum?" Ille sciens eam simplicem in ioco respondit: "Numquam saluabuntur nisi clibanum ardentem ingrediantur." Quod illa que erat et ipsa concubina sacerdotis, non in ioco hec uerba recipiens, die quadam accenso clibano et nullo ibi tunc presente clausoque hostio, flammas clibani ingressa statim ab eis est extincta.	307. Contritio perfecta multa bona inducit in nobis. Primo a morte corporali liberat. Refert Cesarius quod cum quidam predicator in quodam sermone acriter reprehendisset, surgit quedam mulier et in presencia populi interrogavit si concubine sacerdotum poterant salvari. Tunc ille: "Sic, si transierint furnum ardentem." Et quia per furnum iste intellexit perfectionem penitentie, illa non audita expositione sed tanquam simplex licet contrita, accessit ad furnum ardentem et immersit se inter flammas. **Cunque**

46 On simplicity. On a priest's naïve concubine who killed herself in the oven. As I was told by a religious man, one day, in the presence of many people, a priest gave a sermon on sins and the suffering of Hell. At this point a woman interrupted him because she was terrified and filled with contrition; she said: "Oh father, what will happen with the concubines of priests?" Knowing that she was a woman of simple nature, he jocularly replied: "They will never be able to be saved unless they enter a blazing oven." She was herself a priest's concubine. She did not take the priest's words as a joke but treated them seriously. One day, when an oven was lit to bake bread and when opportunity presented itself once everybody had left, she closed the door and, in order to escape eternal fire, jumped into the blazing oven and, surrounded by flames, expired. At the same moment, those who were around the house saw a very white dove coming out of the oven mouth and going into the deepest sky surrounded by great light. Shocked by this vision, they broke the doors open and came in. They found the woman half burned and dead. At the order of the aforementioned priest, they buried her in a field as a suicide (the murderer of her own body). In order to show that this death was inflicted because of simplicity, not out of malice but out of obedience, at night he lit glowing candles that illuminated her grave.

(cont.)

Alphabetum narrationum (Contritio)	*Scala coeli* (De contritione)
De ore autem clibani uisa est a multis prope locum astantibus columba alba ascendere in celum. Stupefactis de uisione, effractis foribus, ingressi, feminam extinctam de flammis extrahentes, tanquam proprii corporis interfectricem in campo sepelierunt. Vt autem Deus mortem sic simpliciter illatam ostenderet non ex malicia sed ex obedientia fuisse, noctibus candelis ardentis, multis uidentibus, ipsius tumulum illustrauit. Hoc etiam ualet ad simplicitatem.[47]	**ibi diu stetisset sine lesione aliqua nullum vestigium incendii in ea apparuit propter contritionis virtutem.**[48]

47 Contrition. A complete contrition is not afraid of any corporal punishment. Caesarius. One day, in the presence of many people, a priest gave a sermon on sins and the suffering of Hell. At this point a woman interrupted him because she was terrified and filled with contrition; she said: "Oh father, what will happen with the concubines of priests?" Knowing that she was a woman of simple nature, he jocularly replied: "They will never be able to be saved unless they enter a blazing oven." She was herself a priest's concubine. She did not take the priest's words as a joke but treated them seriously. One day, when an oven was lit to bake bread and when opportunity presented itself once everybody had gone, she closed the door and, in order to escape eternal fire, jumped into the blazing oven and, surrounded by flames, expired. Shocked by this vision, they broke the doors open and came in. They found the woman half burned and dead. At the order of the aforementioned priest, they buried her in a field as a suicide (the murderer of her own body). In order to show that this death was inflicted because of simplicity, not out of malice but out of obedience, at night he lit glowing candles that illuminated her grave. This is also valid for the rubric Simplicity.

48 Complete contrition does us a lot of good. First of all, it delivers us from the death of the body. Caesarius says that one day a preacher was severely chastising [sins] and a woman got up and, in the presence of many people, asked if the concubines of priests would be able to be saved. He: "Yes, if they enter a blazing oven." By oven he meant complete repentance. She did not hear the explanation and, a simple woman full of contrition, went to an oven and jumped into the flames. And for a long time she stood there without any damage and no sign of burn appeared on her because of the great power of contrition.

Johannes Gobi's text is never exactly the same as Arnold of Liège's, even when the story is identical. Neither does he adopt his model's way of referring to other *exempla* at the end of a story: "hoc etiam valet ad . . ." (this is also valid for). Instead, Johannes Gobi prefers to add (in 20% of the *exempla*) an allegorical interpretation, also known as moralisation, often introduced by the expression "loquendo spiritualiter" (speaking spiritually).

Dialogus miraculorum (De tentatione)

IV, 75. De servo, qui pixide contra praeceptum domini sui aperta gratiam eius perdidit.

Quidam paterfamilias servum habebat fidelem et utilem omnium rerum suarum dispensatorem. Contigit ut die quadam sermo esset de inobedientia Adae inter eos de esu pomi contra praeceptum Domini, et servus indignando illius inconstantiae diceret: "Ut taceam de Deo, si mihi tam districte aliquid a vobis praeciperetur, nunquam transgressor efficerer." Tacuit tunc dominus, et post dies aliquot, cum ille minus sibi caveret, nec sermonem contra Adam prolatum in memoria haberet, pixidem ei clausam, sed non firmatam porrexit dicens: "Pixidem istam custodiae tuae commendo. Quod si aperueris illam, totius laboris tui mercede privaberis, et gratia mea perpetuo carebis." Hoc cum crebrius ei inculcasset, et ille in conclavi suo se recepisset, statim diversis cogitationibus coepit fluctuare, tentationibus aestuare, quid esset in pixide scire desiderans. Et saepius illam vertens atque circumspiciens, ait intra se: "Quid si aperuero illam? Solus sum, nemo videt. Interrogatus, negabo. Non est testis, qui me convincere possit." Victus tandem tentatione, pixidem aperuit, et avicula, quae intus clausa erat, evolavit. Tunc tristis effectus valde, mysterium intellexit, et ad domini pedes, pixidem requirentis, se prosternens, veniam postulavit, sed non invenit. Ad quem dominus: "Serve nequam et contumax, tu primum parentem nostrum de inobedientia iudicans, tuamque constantiam apud me commendans, te ipsum condemnasti. Recede ergo a me, et faciem meam de cetero non videas." Haec mihi retulit canonicus quidam sancti Severini in Colonia, vir senex aetate, verax in verbis, et vita religiosus. Simile ex parte contigit in Saxonia.[49]

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49 On temptation. Of a servant who opened a pyx against the orders of his master and lost his trust. A family man had a trusted servant who was very handy and took care of all his affairs. It happened one day that, when the sermon was dedicated, among other things, to the subject of the disobedience of Adam who ate the apple against the Lord's commandment, the servant, outraged by such disloyalty, declared: "I am not going to talk on the subject of God, but if you gave me such a strict order, I would never break it." The master fell silent and, several days later, when the servant was no longer thinking about it

Alphabetum narrationum (De tentatione)	*Scala coeli* (De obedientia)

585. Obedientia debet aliquando a superiore probari. Cesarius. Quidam paterfamilias famulum habebat humilem et fidelem, qui audiens de inobedientia Ade loqui coram domino suo, indignans dixit ei: "Vt de Deo taceam, si uos mihi aliquid preci peretis, numquam transgrederer." Tacuit tunc dominus et post aliquos dies dominus ei pixidem tradidit clausam et non firmatam, dicens: "Pixidem istam tibi commendo, precipiens ne eam aperias, alioquin gratia mea et omni mercede tua priuaberis." Pixidem receptam ille uertens et circonspiciens, ait intra se: "Quod si aperuero, solus sum, nemo me uidet." Victus tandem temptatione pixidem aperuit et auicula qua intus erat

760. De obediencia quam bona et quam placabilis est Deo. Obediencia multa bona inducit in nobis. Primo est preceptorum conservativa.

Refert Cesarius quod fuit quidam servus qui frequenter audiens loqui de inobediencia Ade, dicebat quod misere virtutis fuerat, nam non reputabat obedienciam esse magnam virtutem. Tunc dominus secrete inclusit aviculam in pixide, et servo suo tradidit precipiendo quod non aperiret nec respiceret quid intra esset. Postquam vero aliquantulum pixidem tenuisset, temptatus fuit aperire. Et aperiens avicula evolavit. Tunc confusus ad dominum suum rediens confessus est suam debilitatem.

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and did not have in his memory the sermon against Adam, he entrusted him with a pyx, closed but not sealed, and told him: "I entrust you with this pyx. If you open it, you will be denied reward for all your work and you will lose my trust forever." After he [the master] impressed it on him several times, the servant shut himself in his room and straightaway he became agitated with different thoughts and started giving in to the thirst of temptation, desiring to know what was in the box. And, turning the box and looking at it from every angle, he told himself: "What will happen if I open it? I am alone, no one will see me. If I am interrogated, I shall deny. There is no witness who could disconcert me." So, defeated by temptation, he opened the box and the little bird that was inside flew away. Overcome by sadness, he understood the secret and prostrated himself at the feet of his master who was asking for his pyx and asked for his forgiveness which he did not obtain. The master told him: "Malicious and obdurate servant, you judged our first forefather Adam for his disobedience, you praised your own loyalty to me; you condemn yourself by your own actions. Go away from me, you will never see my face." It is the canon of St Severin in Cologne who told me this story, a man of years who speaks the truth and leads a religious life. Something quite similar happened in Saxony.

Alphabetum narrationum (De tentatione)	*Scala coeli* (De obedientia)
clausa euolauit. Tunc tristis quidem ⟨ad⟩ pedes domini procidens ueniam petiit sed non obtinuit. Hoc etiam ualet ad presumptionem et inobedientiam.[50]	**Loquendo spiritualiter, servus est homo, dominus est Christus, pixis est caritas vel obediencia habens duas partes, scilicet precepta prime tabule et precepta secunde, avicula est gracia. Quando ergo ista duo genera preceptorum dividantur gracia separatur.**[51]

Johannes Gobi rewrote the end of the *exemplum* where the master is angry at his disobeying servant. Such an ending could not have been easy to use in a sermon. He decided instead to talk about the servant's "confession" to his master (he confesses his weakness) and omit any mention of the master's severity

50 Obedience should sometimes be tested by the superiors. Caesarius. A family man had a trusted servant who, one day, hearing of Adam's disobedience, was outraged and said to his master: "I am not going to talk on the subject of God, but if you gave me such a strict order, I would never break it." The master fell silent and, several days later, entrusted him with a pyx, closed but not sealed, and told him: "I entrust you with this pyx. If you open it, you will be denied reward for all your work and you will lose my trust forever." And, turning the box and looking at it from every angle, the servant told himself: "What will happen if I open it? I am alone, no one will see me." So, defeated by temptation, he opened the box and the little bird that was inside flew away. Overcome by sadness, he understood the secret and prostrated himself at the feet of his master and asked for his forgiveness which he did not obtain. This is also valid for the rubrics Conceit and Disobedience.

51 On obedience, how it is good and how it is pleasing to God. Obedience does us a lot of good. First of all, it allows us to fulfil commandments. Caesarius says that there was a certain servant who, often hearing of Adam's disobedience, would say that he [Adam] had been poor of virtues because he had not considered obedience to be a great virtue. Then his master secretly put a little bird in a pyx and handed it to the servant, ordering him not to open it and not to look inside. When the servant had had the box for some time, he started feeling tempted to open it. And when he opened it, the bird flew away. Embarrassed, he returned to his master and told him about his weakness. In spiritual terms, the servant represents man, the master Christ. The box that the servant wasn't supposed to open is charity or obedience which has two parts – the commandments of the First Table of the Law and those of the Second. When the two groups of commandments are separated, the state of grace is broken.

in order to conclude with an allegorical interpretation of the story. The servant represents man, the master Christ. The pyx that the servant wasn't supposed to open is charity or obedience which has two parts – the commandments of the First Table of the Law and those of the Second. When the two groups of commandments are separated, the state of grace is broken.

It is now time to consider the fourth and last of Johannes Gobi's techniques of rewriting: Dominican reappropriation. Johannes Gobi was very careful to eliminate personal names, with the exception of a certain master Thomas, theologian.[52] This exception is very significant because Johannes Gobi is transforming this unknown master into St Thomas Aquinas, *doctor admirabilis*, and is setting the story in Paris, thus reminding us that Thomas was a member of the Dominican Order. Arnold had already presented him as a theologian (as already mentioned by Caesarius) and a great preacher (Arnold's own addition), but he had not gone as far as identifying his character with a saint! Moreover, Johannes Gobi adds that the devil is "timidus" before this saint whom he is calling "lucerna veritatis" as he is imploring him to let him go.

Dialogus miraculorum (De morientibus)

XI, 38. De magistro Thoma theologo qui diabolum vidit in morte.

Magister Thomas theologus cum in praesenti expeditione in castro peregrinorum in camera quadam lecto decumbens esset moriturus, vidit diabolum in angulo stantem. Quem cum cognovisset, voce beati Martini allocutus est eum dicens: "Quid hic astas cruenta bestia? Dic mihi quid est quod maxime vobis noceat?" Cumque ille nihil responderet, Scholasticus subiunxit: "Adiuro te per Deum vivum qui iudicaturus est vives et mortuos et saeculum per ignem, ut dicas mihi huius interrogationis veritatem." Ad quod daemon respondit: "Nihil est in Ecclesia quod tantum nobis noceat, quod sic virtutes nostras enervet, quomodo frequens confessio. Quando, inquit, homo in peccatis est, peccatis dico mortalibus, omnia eius membra ligata sunt, et non potest se movere. Cum vero peccata eadem confitetur, statim liber est, et mobilis ad omne bonum." Quo audito doctor ille bonus, et crucis Christi fidelis praedicator, laetus exspiravit.[53]

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52 In all evidence, this is the same Master Thomas who died during the Fifth Crusade in Château Pèlerin (Castle Pilgrim or Atlit Castle) in Palestine and is mentioned in *The History of Damietta* chronicle: see *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, (ed.) Hermann Hoogeweg, Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart 202 (Tübingen, 1894), 172.

53 Of the dying. Of Thomas, master of theology, who saw a devil on his deathbed. As Thomas, master of theology, during this crusading expedition [the Fifth Crusade] was lying on

Alphabetum narrationum (Confessio)	*Scala coeli* (De confessione)
172. Confessio nocet demoni. Cesarius. Magister Thomas, theologus et predicator egregius, cum esset moriturus, uidit dyabolum in angulo camere in qua iacebat. Quem adiurauit ut diceret ei quid esset quod plus eis noceret. Qui respondit: "Nichil tantum nobis nocet nec tantum uirtutes nostras eneruat sicut confessio. Quando enim homo, inquit, in peccatis mortalibus est, omnia membra eius sunt ligata et non potest se mouere. Cum ergo peccata eadem confitetur, statim liber est et mobilis ad omne bonum." Quo audito, fidelis ille doctor in pace obdormiuit. Hoc etiam ualet ad peccatum, quomodo ligat hominem.[54]	254 Quinto est demonis oditiva. Refert Cesarius quod quidam doctor mirabilis fuit Parisius de ordine Fratrum Predicatorum, cujus nomen est sanctus Thomas Daquino; qui cum infirmaretur et dyabolus transiret subito per cameram ejus, non valens perfectam sanctitatem ejus ferre, sanctus Thomas vocavit eum. Tunc totus timidus stans in angulo camere clamabat: "Dimitte me lucerna veritatis, quia nihil pro nobis sed contra nos in tua vita aspicio." Cumque sanctus Thomas preciperet ei ut diceret quis plus odiebat in religione christiana et quid ei plus noceret, respondit "Coactus dico, sed merita tua arguunt me. Et ideo notifico quod confessionem plus odio

his deathbed in his chamber in Château Pèlerin, he saw a devil standing in the corner. As he recognised him, he said with the words of St Martin: "Why are you standing here, you blood-thirsty beast? Tell me what harms you the most." Since he [the devil] wasn't replying, the master added: "I exhort you in the name of the living God who will come and judge the living and the dead and the world itself by fire to answer my questions in all truthfulness." The demon replied: "There is nothing in the Church that harms us and weakens us as much as frequent confession. When a man, said he, is in sin, and I mean mortal sin, all of his members are tied and he cannot move. As soon as he confesses his sins, he is liberated and can direct himself toward the good." Having heard that, the good doctor and faithful preacher of the crusade died in joy.

54 Confession harms the Devil. Caesarius. As Master Thomas, famous theologian and preacher, was lying on his deathbead in the chamber where he was, he saw a devil standing in the corner. As he [Master Thomas] exhorted him to answer him who he was and what harmed him most, the demon replied: "There is nothing that harms and weakens our forces as much as confession. When a man, said he, is in sin, and I mean mortal sin, all his members are tied and he cannot move. As soon as he confesses his sins, he is liberated and can direct himself toward the good." Having heard this, the good doctor died in peace. This is also valid for the rubric Sin, because it also ties the sinner.

(cont.)

Alphabetum narrationum (Confessio)	*Scala coeli* (De confessione)
	et nobis displicet et plus nocet. Nam peccata mortalia provocant iram Dei, auferunt beneficia, tenent peccatores ligatos, sed confessio omnia solvit et omnia restaurat."[55]

Conclusion

This analysis of the relationship between the sources that Johannes Gobi claims to have used (Caesarius of Heisterbach) and the sources he was actually using (without any doubt the *Alphabetum narrationum*) demonstrates that Caesarius had become an *auctoritas*. This development explains why he is cited when there is a need to authenticate a text and give it some importance, even though his stories are only known via another author, whose work is relatively recent (between 1297 and 1308, that is around a quarter of a century before Johannes Gobi began working on his *Scala coeli*). The title itself of the *Alphabetum narrationum* allows for the use of this text as a kind of tool, a source for the composition of other works. Its author is not mentioned in the introduction to Johannes Gobi's *Scala coeli*.[56] The *DM*, on the other hand, had already achieved a certain renown, and its author was sometimes referred to as

55 Fifthly, it is abhorrent to the devil. Caesarius says that a certain miraculous doctor was in Paris in the Order of Preachers whose name was St Thomas Aquinas. When he was ill, a devil that couldn't bear such perfect sanctity suddenly went through his room. St Thomas called out to him. Then the devil, overcome by timidity, came to stand in the corner of the room and cried out: "Let me go, luminary of truth, because I see nothing in your life for us but everything against us." When St Thomas ordered him to say what he hated the most in the Christian faith and what harmed him the most, he replied: "I am speaking against my will, but your merits compel me. And this is why I declare that what I hate most of all is confession; it displeases and harms us most. Because mortal sins anger God, deprive man of everything good that he has received and keep the sinner tied, but confession solves and restores everything."

56 In the course of the discussion, Nicole Bériou reminded us that during quodlibetical debates, contemporaries were never mentioned. It is possible that this university tradition found its way into the *exempla* collections.

"venerable."[57] It has a respected title which here refers to a treaty divided into twelve *distinctiones* and it had been written already a century before Johannes Gobi's collection (1219–1223). This work can clearly be attributed to a known author – Caesarius of Heisterbach, who in his *Epistola catalogica* refers to it as the *Magnus dialogus visionum et miraculorum*. Caesarius himself gives authority to his work.

The research presented in this article has elucidated significant aspects of the compilation of medieval *exemplum* collections. Johannes Gobi proposes a strict framework for these narratives imported into the *Scala coeli*, which includes insertion in a rubric, elimination of features that may appear too 'local' (the process of anonymisation and universalisation of the exemplary matter), the addition of an introductory text and sometimes a final moralisation. The function of the Prologue, a passage which can be considered a text in its own right, has also been understood better. In the Prologue, Johannes Gobi describes his working methods and cites the sources that he used in the compilation. The fact that these works are not cited anywhere else because Johannes Gobi prefers to cite the original source of the stories should be understood as complementary, not contradictory, to the Prologue, and by no means an attempt at dissimulation.

The success of the *DM* among the Cistercians is attested in the *Liber lacteus*[58] compiled in 1260–1325 by a monk from the German Alps. Among the few sources mentioned are Sulpicius Severus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Orosius, Gregory the Great, Rabanus Maurus, Peter the Venerable, Jean Beleth and John of la Rochelle. However, many of the 674 exemplary stories could have come from the *Legenda aurea* and some from the *L. VIII* and the *DM* which are never mentioned.[59]

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57 In relation to the adjective "venerable" applied to Caesarius, see ms. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale, 41 (latin: 39), verso of the second end leaf: *Incipit prohemium in sex ultimas distinctiones dyalogi miraculorum* venerabilis *Cesarii, monachi Ordinis Cysterciensium, professi in Hesterbach*, and also: Berlin, Staatsb. ms. theol. Lat. Quart. 368. (f. 19v. marial sermons) *Incipit epistola Cesarii* venerabilis *monachi Heisterbachensis et sacre theologie professoris ad Alardum monachum presbiterum de laude gloriose Virginis Marie*. I am grateful to Victoria Smirnova for these references.

58 Louis, "L'*exemplum* en pratiques," 2: 234–36.

59 From the overview of *exempla* (only the *incipits* and the *explicits* are mentioned) by Daniela E. Mairhofer, *Liber lacteus. Eine unbeachtete Mirakel- und Exempelsammlung aus dem Zisterzienserkloster Stams* (Bachmann: Badenweiler, 2009), it seems that several stories were borrowed from the *L. VIII* (n° 14, 54, 58, 59, 63, 64, 285, 325) and the *DM* (n° 369).

There are traces of borrowings from Caesarius's two collections of *exempla*, for instance, in the *Viaticum narrationum* compiled in Northern Germany by a certain Henmannus Bononiensis (Heineman von Bonn?) between 1374 and the middle of the fifteenth century. He borrowed four *exempla* from the *DM* and eleven from the *L. VIII* in order to enrich his short compilation of 80 stories divided into 63 rubrics presented in the alphabetical order.[60]

But it is especially in Johannes Busch's *Speculum exemplorum* that the *DM*'s influence is apparent. This regular canon of Windersheim, reformer in the spirit of the *Devotio moderna*, collected no less than 1266 *exempla* classified in ten *distinctiones* grouped according to the sources used. Caesarius's *DM* (Book 6)[61] is presented here alongside (although possibly not accorded the same respect if the order of the *distinctiones* is to be trusted) Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* and Peter Damian's letters (Book 1), the *Vitae Patrum* and the *Collationes* of John Cassian (Book 2), Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Exordium magnum* by Conrad of Eberbach (Book 3), Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and Cassiodorus's *Historia tripartita* (Book 4), *Bonum universale de apibus* by Thomas of Cantimpré (Book 5). It is found at the end of the book before the Lives of saints (Books 7 and 8), various authors (Book 9) and stories heard and read in the Northern Germanic languages and Low Dietsch dialects (Book 10).

This *Speculum exemplorum* which appeared in print (in Deventer in 1481) was reworked and expanded by the Jesuit John Major at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the title of *Magnum speculum exemplorum*. Thanks to this work, Caesarius's stories became known in Russia as well as in the Americas.[62] This use of Caesarius in the 'bible of the *exempla*' secured his status of an authority on the subject for many centuries to come.

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60 Karl Langosch, "Heinemann von Bonn," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, (ed.) Kurt Ruh, vol. 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1981), col. 654; Alfons Hilka, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*, vol. 3. *Viaticum narrationum des Hennmannus Bononiensis* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1935).

61 In Book VI, there are 103 *exempla* from the *DM*.

62 On Russian translations of the *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, see Reiner Alsheimer, *Das Magnum speculum exemplorum als Ausgangspunkt populärer Erzähltraditionen: Studien zu seiner Wirkungsgeschichte in Polen und Russland* (Bern, Frankfurt am Main: Herbert Lang, Peter Lang, 1971) and the database ThEMA on the GAHOM website (indexed by Victoria Smirnova) and on its distribution in Mexico, see Danièle Dehouve, *L'Évangélisation des Aztèques ou le pécheur universel* (Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004). Spanish translation: Dehouve, *Relatos de pecados en la evangelización de los indios de México* (Mexico, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2011), 65–72.

PART 5

The Dialogus miraculorum *in Translation*

CHAPTER 9

On a Former Mayor of Deventer: Derick van den Wiel, the *Devotio moderna* and the Middle Dutch Translation of the *Dialogus miraculorum*

Jasmin Margarete Hlatky

Looking at the tradition of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (*DM* henceforth) in the Low Countries, one is rather astonished by the number and distribution of written sources. There are eight extant manuscripts of the Middle Dutch translation of the *DM*; however, none of them is complete.[1] All of the manuscripts date from the fifteenth century and were produced in different parts of the former territories of the Low Countries, from Amsterdam to West Flanders.

Each manuscript contains either the first six books or the second half of the collection. The main reasons for this peculiarity are the transmission of the long text of the *DM* in two volumes and the rather tumultuous history of most of the monasteries in the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] The Latin text of the *DM* was usually transmitted in one volume; however, this tradition was not followed in the case of the Dutch translation.[3]

1 These manuscripts are: Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, V B 10 (*dist.* VIII, 27 to XII); Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, XIV G 34 (*dist.* IX, 29 to XII, 58); Emmerich, Archiv der Sankt Martinikirche, I 88 (*dist.* I to VI); Gent, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 388 (*dist.* I to VII, 16); Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 1125 in fol. (*dist.* VII to XII); Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 781 (*dist.* I to VII, 16); Sint-Truiden, Provinciaal Archief der Minderbroeders, Mss a 53 (olim MZ 37) (*dist.* I to VII, 16), Utrecht, Catharijneconvent, BMH SJ 91 (olim Haarlem, Bisschoppelijk Museum) (*dist.* I to VI).

2 In the summer of 1566, Protestants stormed several Catholic churches in West Flanders and destroyed images of saints. This iconoclastic movement very quickly spread all over the Low Countries and was one of the forces that caused the Dutch revolt against the Spanish rule. When the Low Countries became an independent Protestant country, many Catholic monasteries were converted for other uses, and violence was not infrequently used to fight any resistance the Reformers encountered. For a survey of the history and consequences of the iconoclastic movement, see Hans Cools, "*Tabula rasa*. The Iconoclastic Fury in the Low Countries," *The Low Countries. Yearbook* 10 (2002): 12–20. Available online, URL: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_low001200201_01/_low001200201_01_0003.php. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

3 In the following table, "N" refers to the so-called 'Northern' version of the translation and "S" to the 'Southern' translation.

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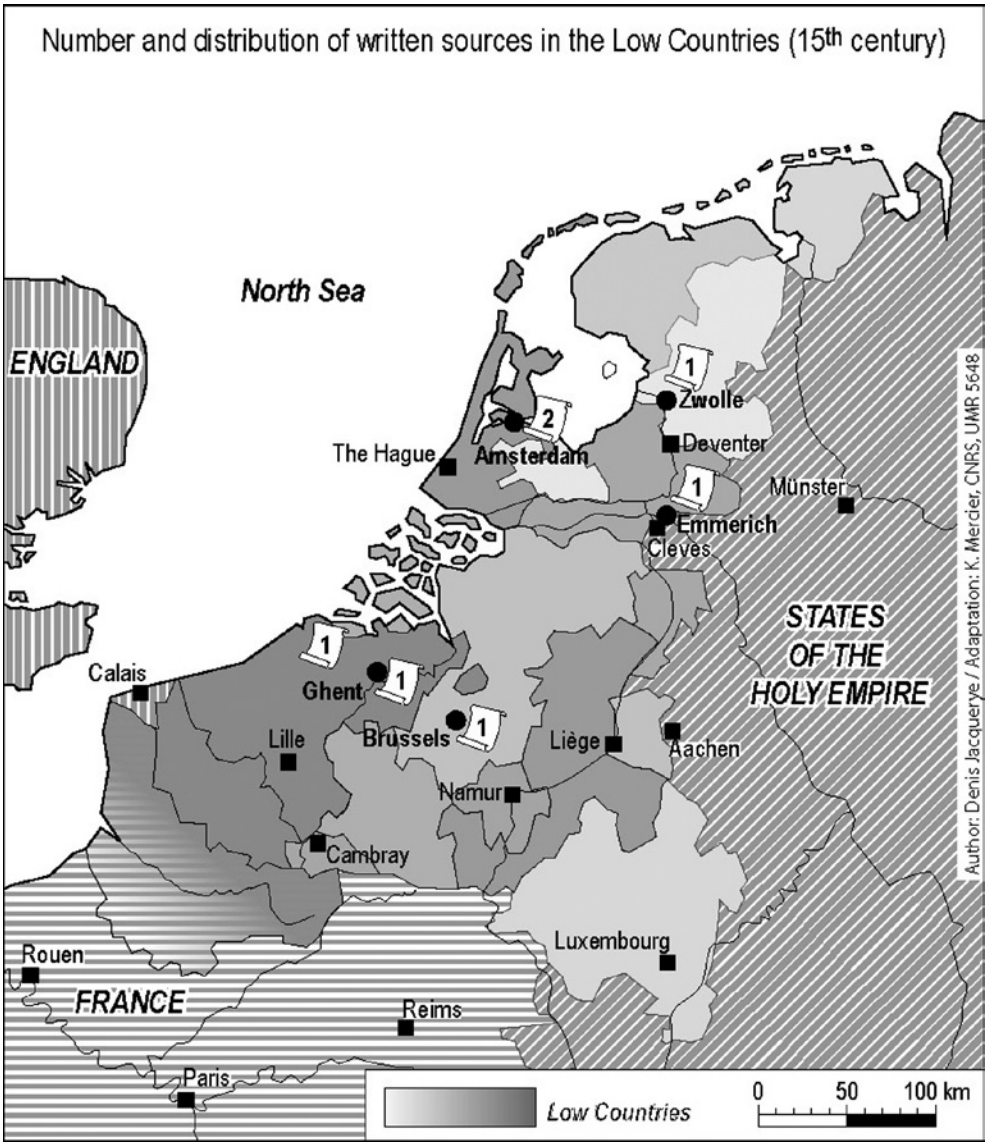
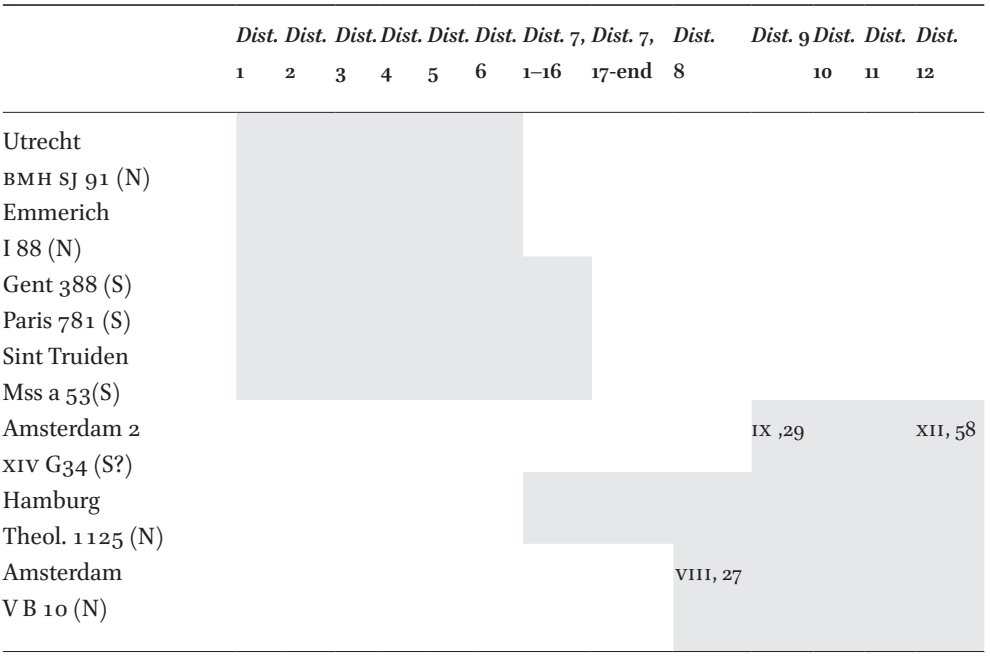


FIGURE 9.1 *Places of provenance of the manuscripts with the Middle Dutch translation of the* Dialogus miraculorum.



The *DM* was translated twice into Middle Dutch, once in the southern part of the Low Countries and the second time in the North. Whereas the 'Southern' translation is considered to be linked to Flemish nunneries, the 'Northern' translation can be traced to the region around the river Ijssel and dated to the middle of the fifteenth century.[4] Important religious developments were taking place in that area at the time. The *Devotio moderna* movement, founded by Geert Grote (1340–1384) around the year 1380 in Deventer, was flourishing.[5] Is that merely a coincidence?

It is likely that the 'Northern' translation was made or at least the distribution of the first few manuscripts of this tradition took place in the context of

4 Jan Deschamps, *Middelnederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 185ff. Jasmin Margarete Hlatky, *Hoe die nouicius vraecht: die mittelniederländische Überlieferung des "Dialogus Miraculorum" von Caesarius von Heisterbach* (PhD diss. University of Münster, 2007). Available online, URL: http://repositorium.uni-muenster.de/document/miami/67d5b291-cdb2-4aaf-be90-018e30e756cf/diss_hlatky.pdf. Accesed 9 January, 2015.

5 For a biography of Geert Grote, see John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

the *Devotio moderna*, maybe even within a community.[6] At least two manuscripts can be linked directly to the *Devotio moderna* – ms. Amsterdam VB 10 (originating from St Agnietenberg in Zwolle) and ms. Emmerich I 88. These manuscripts are also the oldest known.

Sint-Agnietenberg was the home monastery of Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380–1471) and belonged to the chapter of Windesheim, the monastery which spread the ideas of the *Devotio moderna* all over Europe. As subprior of Sint-Agnietenberg, but also as an author (especially with his *The Imitation of Christ*), Thomas à Kempis became one of the most influential voices of the *Devotio moderna* and Agnietenberg was one of the key locations of the movement.

An important, if not the most important manuscript (due to its uncorrupted and well-preserved text) of the 'Northern' version of the Middle Dutch translation of the *DM* can also be located in close proximity to the Modern Devouts: ms. Emmerich I 88 originates from the House of St Gregory in Emmerich, a confraternity of brothers of the common life in a little town in the Lower Rhine area, belonging, just like Deventer, to the diocese of Utrecht. To live together in pious communities as brothers or sisters 'of the common life,' as they called themselves, was a common practice among the Modern Devouts. They aspired to lead their lives in true imitation of Christ – without vows, but with a defined way of living of their own. Many communities were later 'adopted' by larger congregations, but in the beginning they existed as actual houses with individual rules (*consuetudines*) within the city walls.[7]

Part of the Federal Republic of Germany now, in the Middle Ages Emmerich belonged to the cultural and linguistic Middle Dutch area. A closer look at the history of this particular manuscript will make its importance clear.

6 Vernacular translations of devotional texts made it possible to attract more people who did not necessarily master Latin to the *Devotio moderna* movement. See Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna. Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002), 216ff. For the phenomenon of double translations in the Lower Countries, see Frits van Oostrom, *De waarde van het boek* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 8.

7 For the inclusion of houses of the *Devotio moderna* in larger congregations, see Monika Costard, *Spätmittelalterliche Frauenfrömmigkeit am Niederrhein. Geschichte, Spiritualität und Handschriften der Schwesternhäuser in Geldern und Sonsbeck* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 3ff.

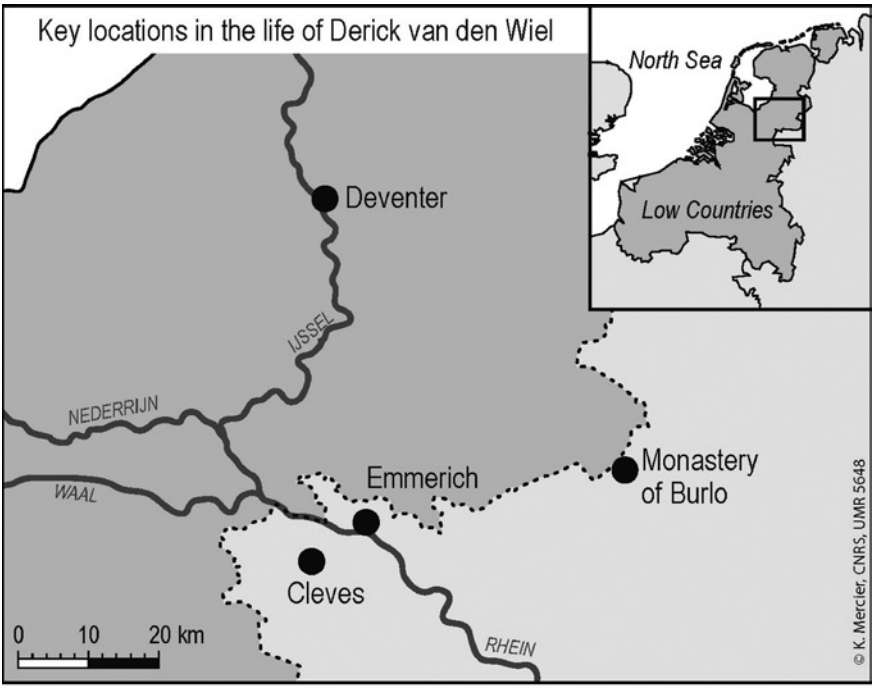


FIGURE 9.2 *Key locations in the life of Derick van den Wiel.*

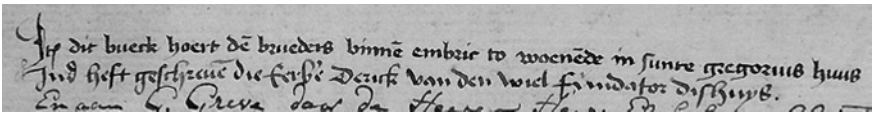


FIGURE 9.3 *The colophon on the fol. 2 verso revealing Derick van den Wiel as the copyist of the ms. Emmerich, Archiv der Sankt Martinikirche, I 88.*

The manuscript in question was executed by no less than the founder of the confraternity himself, Derick van den Wiel (in other documents his name is also mentioned in its latinized version: Theodericus Wiel). He reveals himself on fol. 2v:

> It*em* dit bueck hoert de*n* brueders binne*n* embric to woene*n*de in sinte gregorius huus. Ind heft geschreue*n* die Eerb*ar*e Derick van den Wiel fundator dis huys (This book belongs to the brothers of Emmerich, living in the house of St Gregory. And it is written by the honorable Derick van den Wiel, founder of this house.)

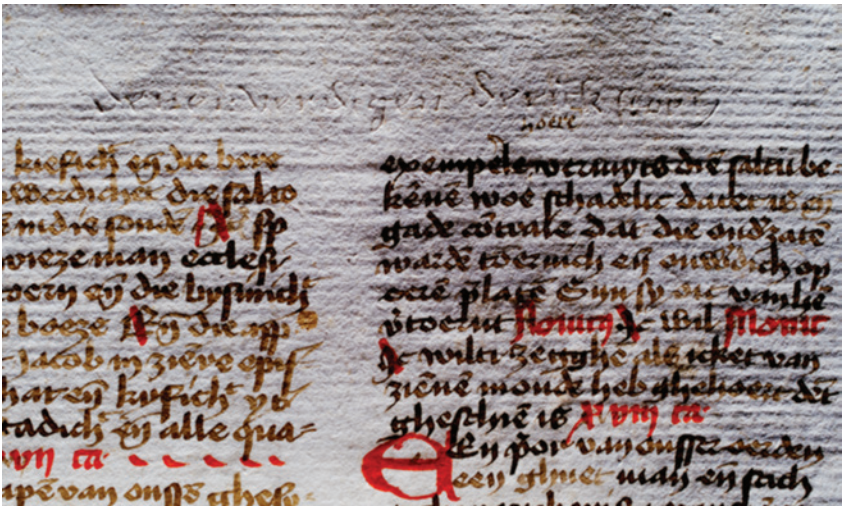


FIGURE 9.4 *The inscription made with hard point, mentioning Derick van den Wiel, fol. 70 recto, ms. Emmerich, Archiv der Sankt Martinikirche, I 88.*

His name is mentioned again on fol. 70r written with hard point:

"des erwerdigen derick Hues" ([belonging to] the house of honourable Derick).

In the Middle Dutch tradition a copyist rarely made himself known so clearly and explicitly; usually his or her name was merely mentioned in the colophon. This is especially odd given one of the principles of the Fraterhouses concerning authorship – *ama nesciri* (you should love to be unknown).[8] Whereas the use of a hard point as seen above can be explained by this rule, the other inscriptions remain remarkable. Even more interestingly, a great deal of information about Derick van den Wiel can be found in the chronicles of his confraternity.

Born around 1400 to a noble family, Derick enjoyed the education of a typical young nobleman of his time. After a short stay at the court of Tours he returned to serve the duke of Cleves in his native region, the lower Rhine.[9] According to documentary evidence, before 1431 he married Belia of Dorsten, a daughter

8 Heinrich Davidts, *Eine wiederentdeckte Handschrift der Fraterherren in Emmerich* (1467–1495) (Emmerich: Massing, 1988), 85.

9 He returned around 1417. All biographical information is taken from *Fontes historiam domus fratrum Embricensis aperientes*, (eds.) Wybe Jappe Alberts and Magnus Ditsche, Teksten en documenten 3 (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1969), i–vi and 1–3.

of a rich aristocratic house of Deventer. In order to be with her he moved to Deventer and, in the following years, played an important role in public life. He was a member of the city council several times; some sources even refer to him as the mayor of Deventer.[10] It is also reported that Derick and his wife were pious and charitable people; they made their house open to friends sharing the same religious ideals and thus at a very early stage they came into contact with the new religious movement of the *Devotio moderna*. Derick knew the sisters of Diepenveen (a women's congregation near Deventer, founded in 1400 and also belonging to the chapter of Windesheim) as well as local reformists, for example the vicar of Deventer Florens Radewijns, one of Geert Grote's disciples, who had meanwhile founded his own house in Deventer, later known as the Heer-Florenshuis (lord Florens's house).

After his wife passed away in the 1460s, Derick left Deventer and retreated to the monastery Mariengarden in Burlo.[11] Since he had no heirs, he left his earthly possessions in the care some relatives who proved not to be very trustworthy. When he saw that his estate could not be managed without his presence, he had to return to his hometown of Emmerich. He was still determined to lead a truly religious life, but probably not in a 'traditional' monastery. His experiences in Deventer may have served as an inspiration; after all, Diepenveen and the Heer-Florenshuis were founded to provide a possibility of a spiritual life for those for whom monastic life was not an option for one reason or another.[12] So Derick decided to use his wealth and found a confraternity of his own.

The fact that Derick had the means and the desire to found a house was not enough; planning and experience were required. He was helped by an old friend from Deventer, Egbertus ter Beek, at that time rector of the Heer Florenshuis, the house they used as a model for the new confraternity. Moreover, the first two brothers came from Deventer. They arrived in Emmerich on the fifth of July 1467 and settled in the new Sint-Gregorius-Huis. The contact with the house in Deventer remained very strong throughout the following years. The Heer-

10 Davidts, *Eine wiederentdeckte Handschrift*, 4.

11 See the map of the key locations in Derick van den Wiel's life. Fig. 9.2.

12 The houses of *Devotio moderna* made a big impact on lay spirituality. Religious living became accessible to more people with the creation of the 'houses of the common life.' This simple life appealed especially to women, often widows. As Wybren Scheepsma points out, the Maas-Rhine-Area was an important centre of spirituality: "The thirteenth century is considered its Golden Age, and the Maas-Rhine-region the cradle of medieval women's religiosity. Momen turned en masse to the spiritual life." Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries. The Modern Devotion, the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings* (Suffolk: Woodbridge 2004), 3.

Florenshuis sent many brothers and, even more importantly, a great number of books.[13] Derick stayed in his confraternity until his death in 1473, and, the chronicle informs us, copied many books during those years. Of course, this mention in the chronicle is mainly aimed at illustrating the exemplary life of the honoured founder, but it also gives an idea of what the Modern Devouts considered to be a fulfilled spiritual life. At least one manuscript copied by the founder is extant.

Personal religious spirituality as well as literacy – writing as much as reading – played an essential role in the *Devotio moderna*. The members of the confraternity of Deventer even called themselves a 'book-community.'[14]

Texts shaped every aspect of this particular way of living. *Reading* was a necessary way to spiritual education, and *writing* was seen as an integral part of a truly pious life, "preaching with the pen."[15] It was considered a meditational and ascetic exercise, a very intense form of reading and also a way of supporting the confraternity or raising funds for charity – therefore books were very often copied and sold.[16] Every house of the *Devotio moderna* had its own library and practiced writing – for its own members or for others. The exchange of books was a natural part of religious cooperation: it enabled contacts and friendships between the houses and also the exchange of spiritual ideas. The production or restoration of books for readers outside the houses created and supported links to the lay communities of the surrounding region.

The community of the house of St Gregory in Emmerich produced books for its own use as well as books for other communities. Documentation related to the restoration of books in the confraternity provides us with insight into collaboration between several communities in the lower Rhine area.[17]

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13 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 68. Some manuscripts, e.g. ms. Berlin, SBB-PK: Theol. Lat. Qu. 75 (Gregorius de Grote: Homiliarium in Ezechielem; Lat.), bear inscriptions of both houses.

14 "Kein anderer Begriff wird der Devotio moderna ähnlich gerecht wie der der Buchgemeinschaft" (No other description suits the *Devotio moderna* as much as 'book community'). Following Thomas à Kempis Kock distinguishes between writing *pro domo* and *pro pretio*. Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 317.

15 This expression is borrowed from the article: Thom Mertens, *Preken met de pen en lezen met de pen: Moderne Devotie en geestelijke literatuur* (Deventer: Geert Groote Genootschap, 1989).

16 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 18 and 90.

17 Among the remaining books from the library of Mariengarden in Burlo, for example, we can find books written on the same paper with the same watermark as the manuscript of Caesarius.

Manuscripts originating from houses of *Devotio moderna*, however, were mainly in Latin. Derick van den Wiel is considered one of the few Modern Devouts who not only read in the vernacular language but also tried to *translate* into it. It is therefore not surprising that he had called his cell at home in Deventer (long before the founding of the Sint-Gregorius-house) "Diepenveen."[18]

> Habuit autem parvam quondam cellulam intra septa domus sue cui nomen indidit ut Diepenveen vocaretur, in qua a mane usque ad vesperam residens devotos libros videlicet evangelia dominicalia tocius anni cum expositione interliniari, Horologium eterne sapientie, Vitas patrum, libellum de arte moriendi, Caesarium et multa huiusmodi quibus usque hodie layci [*sic*] nostri utuntur in satis bona littera transcripsit.[19] (He had a small cell within the fence of his house to which he gave the name "Diepenveen" and where he sat from the early morning to the evening and copied pious books in fair handwriting. These were the Sunday gospels with explanations between the lines, the Horologium of eternal wisdom, the lives of the fathers, an art of dying, stories from Caesarius and many of that kind which our lay people read until this very day.)

Only eight manuscripts survived from the library of the house of St Gregory, which was said to contain a substantial number of books. Except for the manuscript of the *DM*, all are written in Latin. None of the other manuscripts copied by Derick are extant. It is impossible to establish whether translations represented an important part of the library.

Interestingly enough, Caesarius's books are named in the chronicle among the books that were recommended for reading by the lay community, a good base on which to build a spiritual education. Other books in the list were a Sunday gospel with explanations, a basic hagiography (*Vitas patrum*), Suso's directions for an ascetic life (*Horologium sapientiae* 1330/31) and an *Ars moriendi*. Of course, this entry in the chronicle once again illustrates the ideal way of living (according to the *Devotio moderna*) which a founder of a confraternity should exemplify, a life in which writing and contemplation play a major role. But the translation of the *DM* mentioned here is linked to the lay community. Moreover, Caesarius does not feature in Latin reading lists of other houses: the *DM* seems to have been a vernacular specialty.[20]

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18 An allusion to the busy translation activity of the Diepenveen sisters. Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 47.

19 Alberts and Ditsche, *Fontes historiam*, 5–6.

20 See Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 154ff.

It has not been established with certainty whether Derick was the translator of the Middle Dutch *DM* or simply its copyist, but there are hints that his copying of vernacular books was more or less making a virtue out of necessity:

> Quamquam enim magne literature non esset et latinum proferre sermonem minus congrue sciret satis bene tamen et huiusmodi iaculatorias orationes intelligebat et ferventer proferebat.[21] (Although he was no man of great education and could not utter a correct sentence in Latin, he knew devout expressions and used to recite them fervently.)

This seems to indicate that Derick preferred sermons in the vernacular language and his Latin skills were not that good, which makes it very unlikely that he himself was the translator of the *DM*. It is thus possible that he simply copied a book, which, along with all the other books to be copied, was probably supplied by the Heer-Florenshuis in Deventer.

If we believe that the source from which Derick copied his manuscript came from the Heer-Florenshuis, it will be interesting to have a look at the library of this house. Fortunately, this is one of the few cases where information about the book collection in the times of Derick van den Wiel is still available.[22]

The library of the Heer-Florenshuis must have been very well-stocked. It inherited the private collections of the late Geert Grote (†1384), Johannes van den Gronde (†1392) and Florens Radewijns (†1400). Grote especially was a passionate collector of books.[23] Two fragments of a catalogue from around 1490 already list 53 books.[24] Unfortunately, only two small strips of paper from the original catalogue have survived, and Caesarius is not listed in either of them.[25]

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21 Alberts and Ditsche, *Fontes historiam*, 4, see also Davidts, *Eine wiederentdeckte Handschrift*, 3–4.

22 Petrus Folquinus Johan Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus van het einde der vijftiende eeuw. Een bijdrage tot de studie van laat-middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Royale 1973); Maria Elisabeth Kronenberg, "De bibliotheek van het Heer-Florenshuis te Deventer," *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 9 (1912): 150–64 and 252–30.

23 Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus*, 30ff. Grote even used *stationarii* to copy books in a *pecia* system. In all evidence, the number of manuscripts commissioned by Grote was very impressive. See Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 71–2.

24 Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus*, 119.

25 He was probably listed under "exempla" further on in the catalogue. See Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus*, 98–9.

But those strips can give us an indication of the overall number of books in the library which was estimated at between 700 and 1060 books around 1490.[26]

In 1610, long after the Heer-Florenshuis was closed, a great part of the library was publicly auctioned. It is very probable that most of the parchment manuscripts were dispersed at that point. The library mainly consisted of manuscripts on parchment, which explains the high proceeds of that sale (813 guilders).[27] The remaining books formed the foundation for the new Athenaeum library which still exists in Deventer today. So the source for our translation of the *DM* may be lost, but there is nevertheless little doubt that it existed – among numerous other titles, many of which were probably also in the vernacular language, and most certainly also among other collections of *exempla* in the Heer-Florenshuis library.

So why choose to copy Caesarius among all available books in the well-stocked library? It is possible that the *DM* was popular among the Modern Devouts because they found a reflection of the central ideas of the movement in this collection. Not only did the *exemplum* capture the very essence of the *simplicitas* which was postulated by the Modern Devouts, but – especially in the vernacular language – it also responded to the need for didactic literature within a movement that saw its place outside of monastic Latinity. The *exemplum* could furthermore become a multifunctional didactic tool.[28] *Exempla* were often used for readings in *refectoria* and also in schools. For example, over the years, the members of the confraternity of Emmerich became more and more involved in the Latin school there.

The appeal of the *exemplum* as a brief narrative structure could have been one of the reasons for translating and copying the *DM*. In translation, it could be read to virtually anybody and quotes from the text could be memorized easily.

There is yet another tradition of the *Devotio moderna* which made Caesarius's work into perfect reading material. Several times a day, as P. F. J. Obbema vividly describes, brothers and sisters were requested to stop whatever they were doing and 're-chew' (Lat. *ruminare*) the lecture of the day.[29] This idea of digesting memorable thoughts several times had already been fervently advocated by Bernard of Clairvaux and was therefore not new. The

26 Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus*, 98–9.

27 Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus*, 18 and 116–17.

28 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 220.

29 Obbema, *Een Deventer Bibliotheekscatalogus*, 138. For the meaning of *ruminare*, see Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, Bedeutungswandel Wortbildung (München: C. H. Beck, 2000), 24.

Modern Devouts, however, add a particular aspect to this way of meditation. Brothers and sisters were advised to use the time to *ruminare* focusing on an *exemplum* they had memorized earlier. This practice was supposed to make the meditation less abstract and more relevant to everyday life. The subjects of the 're-chewing' were pre-determined: on Saturdays the topic of the day was sin, on Sundays heaven, on Mondays death, on Tuesdays God's clemency, on Wednesdays the Last Judgment, on Thursdays Hell, and on Fridays the suffering of Christ.[30] The arrangement of chapters and subjects in the *DM*, therefore, made it extremely easy to find and read *exempla* that correspond to those topics. Even the form itself of the *DM* with its narrative structure consisting of small sections must already have appealed to the communities.

So in many ways Caesarius's work was perfect for the *confratres*: easy to understand, short, connected to the very landscape of the movement (Caesarius collected his stories mainly in the area where the *Devotio moderna* was active) and coming in a form that was easy to handle.

Soon it became customary only for the extracts from the *DM* to be transmitted, often in manuscript collections, the so called *rapiaria*, and often together with passages from the *Legenda aurea*.[31] Those small collections could be a perfect *vademecum* to use in the spirituality of everyday life. For example, excerpts from the translated *DM* were adapted in a *Rapiarium* by Dirck van Herxen, rector of the *fraterhuis* in Zwolle.[32] Those *collaties* (fascicles) were exclusively destined to be used by lay people who wished to lead a semi-religious life or wanted to join a confraternity.[33]

In the course of the sixteenth century, Caesarius's popularity rose and declined together with that of the *Devotio moderna*. Even before the Reformation, the confraternities were included one after the other in larger congregations or became part of a particular Order.[34] After the iconoclastic

30 See Stephanus Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, vol. 3, *De Moderne Devotie 1380–1550* (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1956), 71–2.

31 "A rapiarium is a collection of excerpts, quotations or sentences with special appeal to the individual collector": Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women, 90.* Kock mentions here ms. London BM, add. 10287. Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 193, footnote 33. See also Costard, who identified several exempla from the *DM* in various *collationes*. Costard, *Spätmittelalterliche Frauenfrömmigkeit*, 130 or 457.

32 Along with the Heer-Florenshuis, this was the most important location for the *Devotio Moderna*. For the importance of the Klerkenhuis in Zwolle, see Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid*, 62ff.

33 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 194.

34 See footnote 7.

movement, the Middle Dutch translation of Caesarius's *DM* was not copied anymore. It is possible that Latin versions disappeared when Catholic monasteries were taken over by the Reformation movement and the popularity of those short stories of miracles certainly decreased. In the Low Countries the complete vernacular text never appeared in print, which can be explained by its substantial volume. Moreover, Modern Devouts were never really interested in printing their books even though cities like Deventer were to play an important role in the history of the printed book.[35] What they valued was the process of writing itself. With the decline of the unique lifestyle of the communities of *Devotio moderna* there was no more need for vernacular *exempla*. Manuscripts were only preserved where confraternities continued to exist, for example, in Emmerich.

In conclusion, thanks to the fifteenth-century Modern Devout Derick van den Wiel, one of the most remarkable copies of the Middle Dutch *DM* was created, but it is his *confratres* and their successors who maintained the house for centuries to come and made sure that we can still enjoy this manuscript.

35 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*, 323f.

Appendix

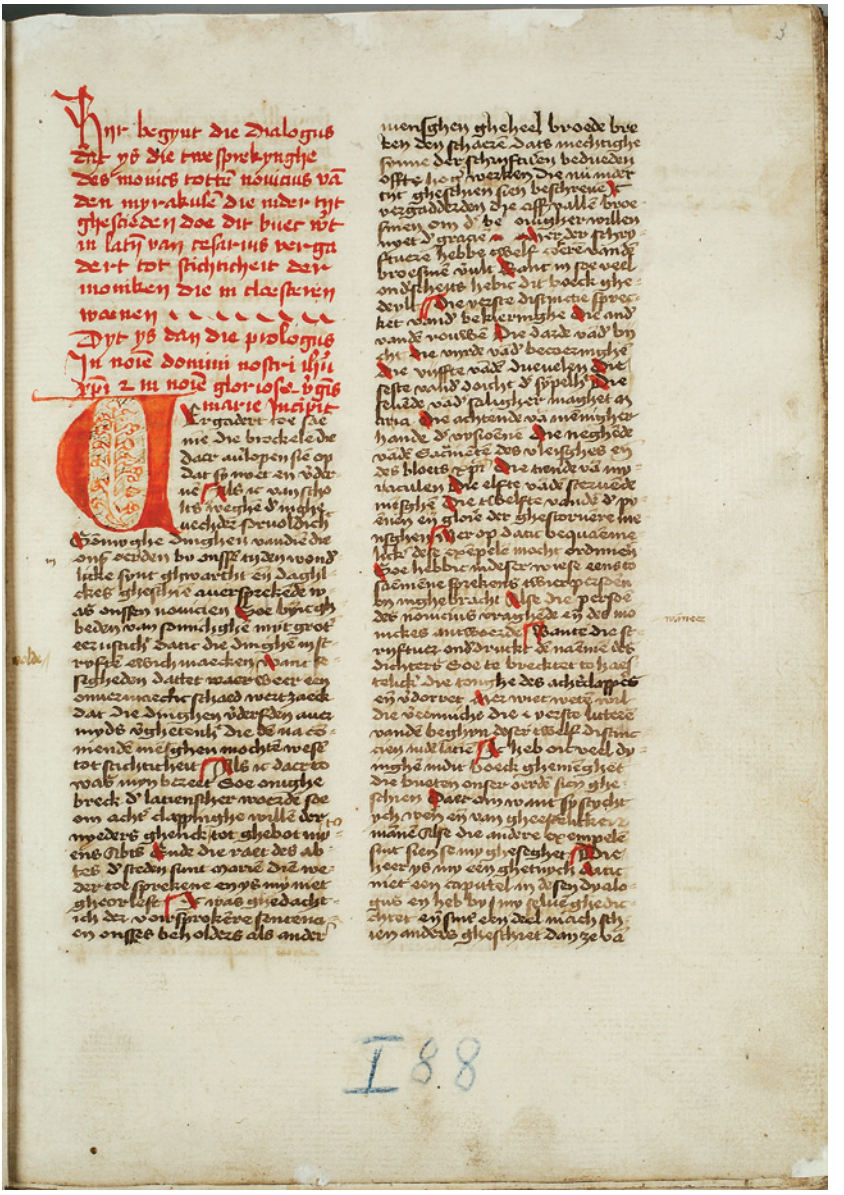

FIGURE 9.5 *An incipit page from the ms. Emmerich, Archiv der Sankt Martinikirche, I 88.*

Emmerich, Sankt Martini Gemeinde, I 88, Fol. 3r, Incipit: Hyr begynt die Dialogus (Here starts the *Dialogus*).

CHAPTER 10

The *Dialogus miraculorum* in the Light of Its Fifteenth-century German Translation by Johannes Hartlieb

Elena Koroleva

Johannes Hartlieb's Biography and His Patrons

The biography of Johannes Hartlieb, the author of the German version of the *Dialogus miraculorum* (*HDM* henceforth),[1] is rather well-documented. Hartlieb was born between 1400 and 1410 and obtained a doctorate of medicine from Padua University in 1439; this title appears on his personal seal in the form of a ring which bears the inscription "harlipp doctor 1439."[2] He was not a nobleman; however, in addition to a personal seal he also had his own coat of arms: a leaping donkey with a golden crown on a silver background.[3] Even if an exact chronology of the first period of his life is impossible to establish, much more information about the Munich period when he composed the majority of his works is available. In 1441, he entered the service of Duke Albert III of Bavaria († 1460) and his wife Anne of Brunswick († 1474). The extant receipts for the period from 1441 to 1457 demonstrate that the Duke paid him a salary for his medical services.[4] Hartlieb's role at the Duke's court was not limited to that of a doctor; we have his correspondence with Johannes of Indersdorf[5] on the

1 Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* will be referred to as the *DM* in this article.

2 Fridolin Golleder, *München im Mittelalter* (Munich-Berlin: K. Oldenburg, 1938), 347, Fig. 37. See also Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1992), 17, n. 17 for the documents with this seal. As Fürbeth points out, men of modest birth did not, as a rule, have a personal seal.

3 Golleder, *München im Mittelalter*, 349, Fig. 38. The donkey may be a symbol of humility or, possibly, of work and patience.

4 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 268–73.

5 Johannes of Indersdorf was first the dean and later the provost of the monastery of regular canons of St Augustine in Indersdorf. For his biography and his works, see Andrea Klein, *Der Literaturbetrieb am Münchner Hof im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1998), 138–56.

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subject of the Church Reform from which we can surmise that he could also have served as a special envoy and even as the duke's advisor.[6]

In 1442, Albert and his wife Anne of Brunswick gave Hartlieb a house in Munich; in the deed that confirms the transfer of the property, Hartlieb is named "hochgelert unser Artzt und lieber getrewer maister Johanns hartlieb lerär der Ertznej" (our very learned doctor and dear faithful master Johannes Hartlieb, specialist in medicine).[7] This description shows his patrons' respect for and appreciation of Hartlieb. In a 1447 document he is designated as "gener Alberti ducis," which lead the editor of Caesarius's translation Karl Drescher to suppose that Hartlieb's wife Sybille was Albert and Agnes Bernauer's illegitimate daughter.[8] Frank Fürbeth, however, proposes another interpretation of the word "gener," for he believes that the duke was the godfather of one of Hartlieb's children.[9]

In 1455, Hartlieb travelled on Albert's business and conducted negotiations concerning possible marriage between Albert's son Sigismund, who in time would himself become Hartlieb's employer, and Margaret, the daughter of Frederick II, elector of Brandenbourg.[10] Even after Albert's death in 1460, Hartlieb remained an important figure at the court of Munich. We know that, together with Anne of Brunswick, Wenher von Ketz, the tax collector (*ungellter*) and Hans Püterich (to whom the translation of the *DM* is dedicated) Hartlieb received revenues from a gold mine at Ammergau.[11] According to the register of deaths of the Franciscan monastery in Munich (Franziskanerkloster St Anna 2° Cmm. 123), Hartlieb died on 18 May 1468.[12]

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6 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 17–8 and 217–18.

7 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 18.

8 Karl Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb. Über sein Leben und seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit," *Euphorion* 25 (1924): 225–41, 354–70 and 569–90.

9 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 20–1.

10 The marriage never took place.

11 The privilege of the exploitation of the mine was confirmed in 1467 by Sigismond and Albert IV who ruled together after their father's passing. See *Sammlung des baierischen Bergrechts*, (ed.) Johann Georg von Lori (Munich: Franz Lorenz Richte, 1764), 94–5; Klaus Grubmüller, "Der Hof als städtisches Literaturzentrum," in *Befund und Deutung: Zum Verhältnis von Empirie und Interpretation in Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, (eds.) Klaus Grubmüller, Ernst Hellgardt, Heinrich Jellissen and Marga Reis (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1979), 405–27, here p. 412.

12 *Dokumente ältester Münchner Familiengeschichte 1290–1620. Aus dem Stifterbuch der Barfüßer und Klarissen in München 1424*, (eds.) Friedrich Hornschuch, Ernst Schindlbeck, Karl Puchner (Munich: Lentner, 1954), 133.

A number of documents confirm his links with the nobility, for example with the family of the dukes of Bavaria but also with the high bourgeoisie to which belonged Hans Püterich and Wernher von Ketz, as well as a citizen of Munich by the name of Berthold Maurer and his wife Diemut to whom Hartlieb sold two houses in 1444.[13] The identity of the person who commissioned the translation of the *DM* poses some questions. Karl Drescher was the first to argue that it was Hans Püterich zu Deutenhofen (the Younger) and not Hans Püterich zu Pasing (the Elder) – they were sons of two cousins.[14] This point of view is accepted by the majority of modern historians and codified in the famous *Verfasserlexikon*.[15] Even when Frank Fürbeth reopened the debate, attempting to demonstrate that it is impossible to say with certainty which of the two men commissioned the *HDM*,[16] the fact that Hartlieb exploited the gold mine with one Hans Püterich who was still alive in 1467, when the privilege was confirmed, suggests that the 'official' version may be correct, given that Hans Püterich zu Pasing died in 1461.[17] Be it as it may, we can be certain that the patron of the translation was a rich bourgeois from a wealthy and respected family settled in Munich in the twelfth century.[18]

Even if, as a rule, Hartlieb wrote on the request of aristocrats, as is the case of the *Puech von dem grozzen Alexander* (*Life of Alexander the Great*), composed for Albert III and his wife Anne of Brunswick between 1451 and 1454, or of the *Leben des heyligen herren sand Brandan* (*Legend of St Brendan*, before 1457) that he adapted for the duchess only, it is important to point out that he was not really leaving his usual circle when he dedicated his translation of the *DM* to a member of the Püterich family rather than to a nobleman. Klaus Grubmüller demonstrates that to label "bourgeois" ("bürgerliche Literatur") the literature produced in a town for a member of the bourgeoisie is a cliché that does not correspond to reality, because this period was characterised by a certain "literary openness" ("literarische Öffentlichkeit") and it is no longer possible to clearly separate the nobility and the rich bourgeoisie who

13 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 270, no. 16.

14 Karl Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb. Über sein Leben und seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit," *Euphorion* 26 (1925), 362.

15 Klaus Grubmüller, "Harlieb, Johannes," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, (eds.) Kurt Ruh, Gundolf Keil, Werner Schröder et al., vol. 3 (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1981), 480–96, here p. 492.

16 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 77–8.

17 See footnote 11.

18 Andreas Schmidtner, "Zur Genealogie der Pütriche," *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 36 (1877):152–72 and 41 (1882): 44–89.

often read the same texts and commissioned works from the same authors.[19] Johannes Hartlieb's work illustrates a new mentality that was forming in the German-speaking towns of the late medieval period.

The Extant Text and the Original of the Translation

Hartlieb's text exists in a single manuscript (British Library, Add. 6039, second half of the fifteenth century) that only contains the translation of the second part of Caesarius's work: *Distinctiones* VII–XII of the *DM*. The paper manuscript has 243 folios in a single hand with the exception of the two last folios where an additional *exemplum* about a priest named Sylvester is written in a seventeenth-century hand.[20] We know for certain that the fifteenth-century hand is not Hartlieb's, because examples of his handwriting are preserved in his receipts.[21] The year 1467 when Hans Püterich the Younger passed away serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the composition of the work. The *terminus post quem*, on the other hand, is problematic. Karl Drescher believes that the *DM* was adapted in German after 1456, the year when the *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst* (Book of all forbidden arts)[22] was composed; however, as has been shown by Frank Fürbeth, this is only a hypothesis that is not supported by facts.[23]

It is not clear whether the first volume (the translation of *Distinctiones* I–VI of the *DM*) ever existed. In his *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst*, Hartlieb refers to Caesarius's *DM* three times, including twice to the *exempla* found in the first volume.[24] One of the stories is particularly elaborate: in Chapters 12–16, Hartlieb recounts *exemplum* 36 from *Disctinctio* V, which is the story of a demon who faithfully served his master, a pious knight. This adaptation suggests that Hartlieb was familiar with the first volume of the *DM*. Nevertheless, the editor of the German version Karl Drescher and some modern researchers such as Frank Fürbeth were convinced

19 Grubmüller, "Der Hof als städtisches Literaturzentrum," 421–27.

20 242v-243r; Karl Drescher, "Einleitung," in *Hartliebs Übersetzung des* Dialogus Miraculorum *von Caesarius von Heisterbach*, (ed.) Karl Drescher (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1929), ix.

21 Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb," (*Euphorion* 26): 341–67 and 481–564, here p. 348.

22 Drescher, "Einleitung," xviii–xix.

23 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 78.

24 Johannes Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, (eds.) Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerststedt: Param, 1989), ch. 12–16, 29A, 95.

that the first volume had never been adapted by the German author.[25] For Fürbeth, this part of the work with its pronounced monastic orientation would have no interest for a secular author; nevertheless, if *Distinctio* I is in fact dedicated to the conversion to monastic life, *Distinctiones* III and IV that concern, respectively, confession and temptation, and *Distinctio* V that contains stories about demons seem absolutely appropriate for a secular readership, and lay people (knights, merchants, peasants, usurers) are extensively represented here. On the other hand, we could think that Hartlieb preferred the second volume to the first one for personal reasons. He had a personal devotion to the Virgin, to whom he dedicated a chapel in Munich.[26] Indeed, Caesarius's *Distinctio* VII that became Book I in Hartlieb's translation is dedicated to the Virgin. In the German version, we find additions that testify to Hartlieb's devotion to the Mother of God.[27] It therefore makes sense to suppose that Hartlieb began his translation with the book that seemed to be the most important to him.

The original of the German translation is close to the ms. Innsbruck University Library 185 that was produced at the Cistercian Stams Abbey[28] and was certainly there in the fifteenth century.[29] Related to this manuscript are at least eight other manuscripts, four of which are in Munich and date back to the fifteenth century.[30] This is an abridged version of the *DM*, in particular where Caesarius's *Distinctio* XII is concerned. Certain *exempla* were omitted, others shortened, geographical indications and some proper names removed together with a considerable part of the biblical and patristic references. These changes rendered the narrative much less concrete and detached from the historical and ecclesiastical context that seems to have already lost its relevance at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the Innsbruck ms. was written. In fact, if we read Hartlieb's version bearing in mind the canonical text of the *DM*, we will be tempted to believe it to be a lay rewriting of a monastic work in which the Latin text is abridged and long passages that would have been of little interest to the lay public are eliminated. However, this is not the case. Hartlieb had a strong tendency to amplify the text of his source[31] and, as far

25 Drescher, "Einleitung," xviii; Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 176.

26 Hartlieb transformed into a chapel an old synagogue that fell into disuse after the expulsion of the Jews in 1442. The works began in 1447. See Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 20.

27 See *infra* and Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb," (*Euphorion* 26): 482–83.

28 Drescher, "Einleitung," x.

29 Walter Neuhauser. *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck. Cod. 101–200* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 170–72, Abb. 23.

30 Drescher, "Einleitung," xi.

31 See *infra* on the subject of the Virgin Mary and of the explicative glosses.

as we can judge from the Innsbruck manuscript, the majority of the omissions already occurred in the German translator's source. Even if we take Caesarius's *Distinctio* VII which is less abridged than the shorter *Distinctio* XII, we will find, for example, important omissions in the dialogue between the Monk and the Novice, as is the case in *exempla* VII, 37 and VII, 45 (Chapter 48 and 65 of the Innsbruck ms., fol. 90v and 93v). Apart from the omissions, the author of the abridged version submitted his model to a sort of censorship, as can, for example, be seen in *exemplum* VII, 32 (Chapter 44 of the Innsbruck manuscript, fol. 89v–90r) where we read the story of a virgin knight who, on the Devil's instigation, falls in love with his Lord's wife. The hermit whom he comes to consult advises him to go to the church of Our Lady and to pray to the Virgin every day for a whole year so that his wish be granted. At the end of the year, the knight comes to the church for the last time and, upon leaving, meets the most beautiful woman that he had ever seen, who is, as the reader can guess, Virgin Mary herself. Up until that point, the Innsbruck version follows the full version relatively faithfully, but there are several omissions in the account of the meeting between the knight and the Virgin. Thus, a part of the conversation between them is taken out: " 'Sufficeret tibi si me posses habere uxorem, necne?' Cui cum responderet: 'Cuilibet regi bene sufficeret species tua, et beatus iudicaretur tuo consortio' " ("If you could have me for a spouse, would it be enough for you?" He replied: "Your beauty would suffice to any king and he would be considered blessed thanks to the union with you": *DM* VII, 32). This passage would no doubt have appeared disrespectful to the moralising author of the abridged version. In the same vein, omitted are all the details that characterise the Virgin as violent, ferocious and authoritarian. The forceful gesture with which she makes the knight give her a kiss that will seal their union disappears ("Et coegit eum" – She made him [give her a kiss]) along with a whole sentence describing once again her dictatorial behaviour: "Apprehendensque strepam equi eius, ut ascenderet praecepit, cuius auctoritate miles pressus, obedivit" (Having seized his horse by the stirrup, she demanded that he get on and, subjected to her authority, he obeyed). With the help of these omissions, the author of the Innsbruck version creates a much more pleasant image of the Virgin, possibly aiming at conferring on her the dignity that she deserves. Other traces of this 'censorship' can be found, for example, in *DM* VII, 22 (Innsbruck, Chapter 35, fol. 88 r) where the author of the abridged version removes the ambiguous ending of the story of a provost who was cured of fever and a fistula by his devotion to the Virgin. When the hero speaks about his cure to Walther, his former master, the latter asks him if he had conquered the vices that he had been prone to. We do not know which sins are referred to here or how serious they were, but the provost does accept that he had not corrected the situation. The ending of the story

thus remains ambiguous: a sinner is cured by the Virgin and does not repent. In the abridged version this whole passage is removed, and this is also the case in Harlieb's translation.

The approach adopted by the authors of the abridged Latin and German versions leads us to question the reception of Caesarius's work by the public. Is there really a major difference in the practices of reading and rewriting in the monastic and lay circles? The author of the Innsbruck version seems to have been concerned very little with the specific details of the *exempla* that are, however, very relevant for a Cistercian monastery, such as the names of the monks, the places where the miracles take place and the references to eyewitnesses and authoritative sources. He is not interested in theological reflexion either, since the dialogues where theological questions are discussed are often abridged and passages that lack a clear theological message are removed. In short, the author of the Innsbruck version aims at presenting a simplified and unambiguous text while at the same time addressing the monastic audience. Contrary to what one would expect, Hartlieb, a bourgeois author, translated rather faithfully the text he had in front of him without really trying to adapt his narrative to the taste of his addressee, himself a bourgeois.[32] In fact, this practice calls into question Fürbeth's hypothesis on the choice of the volume to be translated with the interest of the lay public in mind.[33] At what point do the interests of the lay readers begin to diverge from those of the monks where literature is concerned? Hartlieb's text and its abridged Latin model seem in any case to defy our prejudices (in Gadamer's sense of the term, *Vor-urteile*, the inevitable 'pre-judgments' that we all bring to our perception) concern-ing the 'lay' and the 'monastic' reading of a work.[34] The abridged Latin versions of the *DM* merit a special study that could throw some light on the reception of the work in monastic circles.

The Prologue of the German Adaptation of the *DM* in the Context of the Prologues to Other Works by Hartlieb

Even if they are relatively faithful adaptations of an existing text, Hartlieb's works are preceded by original prologues that give an idea of the translator's intention. Moreover, Hartlieb liked to create links between the prologues to his

32 With the exception of the progressive disappearance of Latin (see *infra*).

33 See footnote 25.

34 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1960).

works. The same citation from the Pseudo-Aristotle, in slightly different translations, for example, is found in two prologues, that of the *HDM* (5–7) and that of the adaptation of the legend of St Brendan.[35]

Nevertheless, the prologue that is closest to the opening of the *HDM* is the prologue to Harlieb's *Alexander* (*Puech von dem grozzen Alexander*), the story of Alexander the Great adapted from a compilation close to ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 310. First of all, both texts rely on a double authority. The first is a classical author, Aristotle and Seneca respectively. In both cases, the quotation is placed at the beginning of the text: 1) "Aristotiles in seinen natúrlichen púchen lernt und gibt underschayd ayn yegklich mensch zw erkwnden, und spricht allso: 'Wér ain ygklicher ist, da von redt er und wúrckt sein aygenschafft, dabey man in erkúnden mag'" (Aristotle in his books on nature teaches and describes the way of knowing each person and here is what he says: "Each person tells what he is and reveals his character, this is how one can know him": *HDM*, p. 1, 5–7);[36] 2) "Seneca schreibtt in seinenn sendtbriefen vnd epistelen, daz aller fuersten getatt, werck, gesta, hanndel und gepärde, thuen vnd laßen zu beschreiben vnd aller mänigkleich zu verkunden seyen"[37] (Seneca writes in his letters and *epistolae* that the works and the behaviour of all the princes should be put into writing and made known to everyone: *Alexander* 1–3).

The second authority that supports both works is a religious one. In the *HDM*, the reference to Aristotle is immediately inserted in the Christian context with the help of a biblical quotation (Matthew 7, 18): "als auch Jhesus unnser hayland in seiner ewangelischen lecczen gesprochen hatt: 'Ain boser bawm mag nit gutt frucht tragen' etc." (. . . as Jesus our Saviour says in his Gospels: "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit" etc.: p. 1, 9–10). It is interesting that Christ is also invoked in the Prologue to the *Alexander* in order to clarify the words attributed to a Latin author. A completely lay reason, the desire to leave a good reputation after one's death ("guettes lobe nach irem leben laßenn," 30–31) is legitimised by the example of Christ whose disciples left his biography, the Gospels (30–36). As if to underline the supposed link with Seneca, Hartlieb further points out: "Das sin die wort und mainung Senece" (these are the words and the judgement of Seneca: 36). The two authorities, the Christian one and the lay one, are once again presented alongside each other in the

35 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, 188.

36 *Hartliebs Übersetzung des* Dialogus Miraculorum *von Caesarius von Heisterbach*, (ed.) Karl Drescher (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1929).

37 The text of Hatlieb's *Alexander* will be quoted from the edition *Johann Hartliebs* Alexander. *Untersuchungen und kritische Textausgabe*, (ed.) Reinhard Pawis (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1991).

second part of the *Alexander* Prologue. On the one hand, Hartlieb invokes the authority of the Holy Spirit ("Darumb rueff ich am ersten an die genade des heyligen geystes": 50), but, on the other, he adds immediately that he "chooses Seneca for himself" ("darnach nym ich für mich Senecam": 52). Similarly, the Prologue of the *DM* ends with an invocation of the divine 'high wisdom'; the translated text is compared to the Bible that also contains numerous examples destined for the instruction of Christians:

> Wann ich sag dir in warhaitt das so vil gůtter ler und beispill darinn sein, dar durch ain sunder bekertt und ain gůtter gevest und bestátt wirtt, als man in der heyligen geschrifft inndert erfinden kan oder mag, und ob nwn geschrifft alle erdicht wáer, das doch nit ist, noch dann mocht daraus grosse und gůttew underweysung geschechen, wann die hóchst weyshait auch vil beyspill gesecczt hatt, unsz arme kristen damit zw under weysen (I am telling you in all truthfulness that in it there are so many good teachings and examples thanks to which a sinner corrects his ways and a good person becomes strong and persevering, as one can find examples in the Holy Scriptures. And even if everything that is written were nothing but an invention, which is not the case, one can draw a great benefit from this teaching, because the greatest wisdom (=God) too gave numerous examples to educate us, poor Christians: p. 1, 20–26)

The idea that the human character is innate, attributed to Aristotle in the Prologue to the *HDM* (5–7), is also present in the *Alexander* Prologue. Here too, Hartlieb insists on the importance of good nature (23) and presents the image of a prince to whom God gave natural wisdom ("So hat dich got der herr wol so hŏch mitt naturleicher vernunfft begabett…": 54–55). This idea is certainly secondary in the *Alexander* Prologue, but it does nevertheless remain a condition *sine qua non* of a prince's power over the people that he governs.

A third point that links the two works is the idea of the common interest, "gemain nucz." The expression used is the same in the two prologues: in the *DM*, the good nature pushes the addressee to the "fúdrung ains gemain nůccz" (p. 1, 15), that is to support the common interest, and in the *Alexander* Hartlieb speaks of the duty of sovereigns who have to train themselves in everything that contributes to the common good ("gemaynen nucz fuederen": 7). In both prologues, the author develops his idea in a didactic perspective and in both cases it is the addressee of the work at whom this message is aimed. Hartlieb asks Hans Püterich to communicate the teaching that he will receive to all honourable people ("pitt dich den [Caesarius's adapted book] mittailn allen gutten

und ergernden menschen": *HDM*, p. 1, 19–20) whereas the prince has to serve as an example to his subjects who improve themselves from the moral point of view by imitating their Lord: "mänigkleich von dier gepeßertt werdt" (56–57).

The final point that allows a comparison of the two prologues is the notion of the example, *beispil* or *ebenbilde* in German. The *HDM* and the story of Alexander are both presented as a source of moral teaching that needs to be communicated to others, which, as we have seen, will eventually contribute to the common good. The duty of the prince is more important but also more difficult: he must literally transform himself into a living example, incarnating all the imaginable virtues, because it is on him that the behaviour of the people as a whole depends (21–29). Even though for the modern reader the two works may appear to belong to two completely different genres, for the German author they both had the same didactical purpose. Every narrative work worthy of being read by a man of a 'good nature,' for Hartlieb, should be a collection of *exempla* from which a tropological lesson can be drawn.

Latin and German in Hartlieb's Adaptation

Even if the majority of the text is translated into German, Latin continues to be a presence in the *HDM*, and we need to consider the relationship between the two languages. Thus, in the first three books Hartlieb keeps the Latin *incipit* but omits the titles of the chapters. These Latin opening lines play at least a double role, serving, on the one hand, as a title, and, on the other, as a reference to an authority. Latin completely disappears from the manuscript in the middle of Chapter 49 of Book III (*DM* IX) and is never used again. From this point on, Hartlieb begins to translate the Latin titles of the chapters but abandons the *incipit*. Was it due to the instructions of the patron who did not have the necessary education to appreciate the traces of Latin that still remained in the text? It is certain that we are witnessing a work in progress that is changing together with the writing of the text itself.

Another indication of the change that takes place is the single occurrence of the translation of the word "Novicius" in the same chapter 49 of Book III. In the introduction to the Novice's lines this word is exceptionally translated as "Junger." It is a unique case in the whole manuscript and it is not accidental that this attempt at translation is found in the same chapter where the author decided to explore a new approach in the adaptation of his source – to get rid of the Latin text altogether.

The desire to experiment in the very process of translation is manifested not only in Chapter 49. Thus, in Hartlieb's Book I (*DM* VII), Latin sentences appear

at the beginning of certain chapters and also in the middle or at the beginning of a paragraph. In particular, this practice can be observed in the case of long and very long chapters (Chapters 17, 20, 21, 24, 37 and 38) that often tell more than one story. Hartlieb tried, it seems, to use the *incipit* as a means of structuring an extended part of the text, but whatever the reason, he rather quickly abandoned this practice. There are only two paragraphs with a Latin introduction in Book II (Chapters 68 and 88) and there is none on Book III.

At this point, the dialogical framework diverges from the narrative of the *exemplum* as such. Thus the translator regularly reproduces the Latin beginning of each of the Monk's or the Novice's lines, which is not without interest for the discussion of the role of the dialogue in Caesarius's work and of the reception of this dialogue which may be different from the reception of the narrative text.[38] Introducing each line by a Latin *incipit*, Hartlieb seems to underline the particular status of the dialogue in relation to the rest of the text; in this way, he clearly separates it from the narrative and insists even more on the veracity of the words of the interlocutors. If the lines of the Monk and the Novice only contain a single short sentence, Hartlieb preserved the Latin version followed by the German translation, as is the case in Chapter I of Book III, 1 (*DM* IX, 1).[39] In the case of a series of short questions and answers, a special effect is created: the reader could seize the meaning of the exchange simply by looking at the Latin *incipit*. This, however, would only be useful for somebody familiar with Latin; for the uninitiated the presence of the Latin sentences could only complicate the reading process. Is this the reason why the Latin introductions end up disappearing altogether?

Interestingly enough, it is the Novice's lines that are most often accompanied with a complete Latin equivalent. This practice can be partly explained by the very nature of these lines, often shorter and more concise than those of the Monk, but, on the other hand, we could probably interpret the presence of Latin as another way of conveying authority to the text which the words of the Monk, an incontestable authority, do not need. There are fewer Latin *incipits*

38 Victoria Smirnova, "Le *Dialogus miraculorum* de Césaire de Heisterbach: le dialogue comme axe d'écriture et de lecture," in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire du Moyen Âge*, (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 2012), 195–218.

39 To provide just one example, here is the beginning of the dialogue of Hatlieb's Chapter 1, Book III (IX, 1 in *DM*): "Novicius: Quid est sacramentum et res? Was ist es, das sacrament und dinge haisset?" (What is a sacrament and a thing?) "Monachus: Caro Christi propria etc. Das aygen fleisch und plut Christi." (Christ's own flesh and blood.) "Novicius: Quid est res et non sacramentum? Was ist denn das, das do ein ding und chain sacrament ist?" (What is a thing and not a sacrament?)

in the Monk's lines than in those of the Novice. I have counted fourteen cases with the absence of the Latin beginnings in the Monk's words and only four in the Novice's, which confirms the function of legitimation fulfilled by the Latin text.

Since Latin plays the role of the language of authority, it sometimes appears in the text without any other apparent *raison d'être* than to show off the erudition of the German author who at several points gives Latin and German equivalents of the same word or expression.[40] As a rule, he finds the Latin equivalents in the original text,[41] but occasionally he goes as far as to invent his own versions, as, for example, in *HDM* II, 49 (*DM* VIII, 50) where instead of "versificaretur"[42] we find "So macht sy versz, in latein genant metra" (And so she is making verse that are called *metra* in Latin). It is worth noting that these learned equivalents disappear at the same time as the Latin *incipit* that, as we have seen, are absent from Chapter 49 of Book III onwards. The last occurrence of the Latin/German equivalent is to be found in III, 48. We are thus witnessing a radical change in the notion of translation: the author abandons Latin and with it leaves behind the learned aspect of his work for the sake of an easier type of reading, a rare sign of the adaptation of the *DM* for the lay public.

Techniques of Translation and Rewriting

Despite an important degree of fidelity to his source, Hartlieb demonstrates a great agility and varies his language considerably, even in the most straightforward sentences. Thus, the Novice's famous reply "placet quod dicis" (what you are saying pleases me), is almost never translated in the same way:

> Es gevellet mir wol, das du sagst. (I, 14)
> Es gevellet mir wol, das du also darzu sprichest. (I, 33)
> Die red gevellt mir wol. (I, 35)
> Mir gevellet wol was du also sprichest. (I, 37)
> Mir gevellet wol das du gesprochen hast. (I, 47)
> Es gevelt mir wol das du also gesagt hast. (II, 11)
> Es gevellet mir wol was du also sagest. (II, 76)
> Es gevellet mir was du gesagt hast. (III, 25)
> Das du also gesagt hast, das gevellet mir wol. (III, 40)

40 Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb," (*Euphorion* 26): 487.

41 See, for example, the word "confessores" in *HDM* II, 70 and *DM* VIII, 71 or the Latin name of Utrecht (Traiectum) in *HDM* I, 22 and *DM* VII, 22 respectively.

42 The Innsbruck ms. contains, for this passage, the same text as the full version (105r).

Each of the quoted examples is placed alongside its Latin equivalent. Hartlieb avoids word-for-word translation and modifies the syntax of the sentence or the tense of the verb that is used, adds an extra adverb, chooses a different verb etc.

Apart from linguistic variety, the text exhibits a very strong tendency for amplification. This amplification does not aim at considerably modifying the contents of the source but rather serves to clarify the text. A good example would be the word "paralytica" that appears in *DM* VII, 20 and is replaced by the long expression "an henden und fuessen krumpp und lam" (crooked and paralysed in arms and legs: *HDM* I, 20) in Hartlieb's text.[43] A number of clarifications are added to biblical references. In Chapter 26 of Book III (*DM* IX), in just one paragraph we find "Johannsen Gots tauffer vatter" (St John God's godfather) instead of Johannes,[44] "ewangelist Lucas" instead of "Luca," "Ozee" and "Malachias" designated as "prophets" and "priester Hely" instead of Helias. As Karl Drescher points out, Hartlieb has an extensive knowledge of the Bible, of the Old as well as of the New Testament, and takes care to provide as much detail as possible, summarising the contents of biblical stories, specifying names of people and places, functions of the characters and also sometimes recalling the main points of their story, as he does, for example, for Jacob (II, 46) and Abel (II, 63).[45] This can be an indication of the adaptation of the text for the lay public which, we have seen, is not in principle Hartlieb's most important goal.

If the modifications mentioned above can be explained by a need for clarification, others should be attributed to stylistic reasons. Thus Hartlieb often uses repetition and expressions of synonymy. To give just one example, Chapter 13 of Book I (*DM* VII) describes how monks should behave if the Virgin appears to them. In Caesarius's text, the Novice's line is relatively short: "Si sic dormientes noctibus a speculo totius castitatis visitantur, valde decet, ut tam ordinate et tam composite religiosi in lectis suis iacere studeant, ut virgineus aspectus in eis non offendatur" (If the mirror of all chastity [i.e. the Virgin] pays a visit to those sleeping at night, the monks must force themselves to remain in their beds in a dignified and regulated manner, so that the Virgin's gaze is not offended: VII, 13). In Hartlieb's text this line is amplified but its meaning is not modified. For example, he uses synonyms for "visitare" ("von dem spiegel aller keuschhait Marien *besehen und haymgesůcht*") and "valde decet" ("so ist

43 Could this be an expression of a doctor's attention to detail? For other examples, see Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb," (*Euphorion* 26): 487.

44 Hartlieb is applying the vocabulary of family relationships to a complex theological reality of the baptism of Christ by St John the Baptist.

45 Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb," (*Euphorion* 26): 484–85.

wol pilleich und gar zimleich"). He further provides a detailed description of appropriate behaviour, translating "tam ordinate et tam composite" (in such an orderly and precise manner) by "ordenleich, wolsitikleich," but also adding "und mit ganezer zucht" (and with all the propriety). Finally, Hartlieb inserts a detail that does not feature in Caesarius's text; the German author says that these rules apply to the monks whether they are sleeping or awake ("slaffend oder wachend"). In general, these additions do not provide any new information but they contribute to the creation of Hartlieb's personal literary style.

As for the work of rewriting, it is not immediately apparent and is only vaguely discernible. We have seen that devotion to Virgin Mary is very important for Hartlieb, as can also be deduced from the passage discussed above, in which the German translator insists more on decent behaviour in the presence of the Mother of God. His special relationship with the Virgin makes him insert several additions that, while still emphasizing modesty, clearly reveal his piety and his authorial stance. Thus Hartlieb the moralist manifests himself in the *exemplum* told in Chapter 50 of Book I (*DM* VII, 50) where one monk tells another how the Virgin appeared and repaid long years of devotion with a kiss. The author, who is clearly a very virtuous man, finds it important to clarify that the kiss is given on the cheek, the detail absent from the Latin text, from the edition as well as from the Innsbruck version (fol. 94v): instead of "dedit mihi osculum" we find "sy . . . erpot mir einen kůs an mein wange" (*HDM* I, 50). In another Chapter (*HDM* I, 38; *DM* VII, 38), Hartlieb amplifies and specifies the honours that the protagonist, a knight named Walter of Birbech, pays to the Virgin. Whereas the Latin text only says that he celebrated mass ("honoraverat in missa"), Hartlieb points out the protagonist's double devotion because he not only honours the Mother of God openly but also in his heart: "mit einer gesungen mesz und mit seinem innigen gepette" (*HDM* I, 38: with a sung mass and with his interior prayer). It seems that for the German translator public adoration is worth nothing if it is not based on spiritual devotion.[46] The two types of veneration are expressed in the word that for Hartlieb is a performative act; this is how we should probably explain the accumulation of adjectives and nouns honouring the Virgin that are found in his text. For him, she is saint ("heilig") and chaste ("keusch") – two adjectives that are regularly used to characterise Mary who is also described as a pure virgin ("raine magt Maria": *HDM* I, 27), mother of mercy ("můtter der parmherczikait": I, 37), highly praised queen of heaven ("hochgelobte hymelkúnigin": I, 1) and our protectress ("unser vogtynn Marie": I, 6) with a sweet name ("ir súszer nam Maria": I, 1), glorious

46 Hartlieb evokes the well-known *topos* of the prayer of the mouth: it was the heart, and not the mouth that was required to speak to God.

("lobsam susze nam Marie": I, 26) and saint ("Maria der heylig nam": I, 8.)[47] All these are additions to the Latin text which is much more sober. Even if the translator was not really rewriting/reworking the image of the Virgin, his insistence is not gratuitous. He assimilates his devotional discourse to a prayer, his text having a performative as well as a descriptive function. Hartlieb celebrates the Virgin the way he knows best, by means of words.

Conclusion

The *HDM* is a unique example of the translation of Caesarius's work in the bourgeois circles for an exclusively lay public. Far from being the most imaginative and innovative author of his time, Johannes Hartlieb does, however, occupy an unusual place on the contemporary literary landscape, because his works and what we know about his life give us an idea of the reception of Caesarius's text as well as of the intellectual life of the town and the court in the late Middle Ages. Hartlieb's original creation, the Prologue of the German version, reveals important details about the patron of the work and his own authorial intention. The Prologue inscribes this unique adaptation in the context of Hartlieb's literary production which, although diverse and varied at the first glance, is also characterised by homogeneity and a single didactic intention. Thus, for Hartlieb, the story of Alexander the Great and the *exempla* told in Caesarius's *DM* basically serve the same purpose – to teach a moral lesson. One can say that the boundary between the two texts disappears along with the differences between the two groups of readers, the nobles and the bourgeois, that together form one textual community.

The *HDM* bears witness to certain difficulties that Hartlieb encountered in his work. The interplay between Latin and German, with the former present in the first part of the work and disappearing in the middle of Book III, provides us with a rare glimpse into the thought process of an author in search of the best way of adapting his material. The techniques that he adopts and the modifications that are introduced present an image of the author as a devout man and a moralist who is also striving to provide a precise and intelligible text written in a rich and varied language. Even though, as is stressed in the Prologue, he is writing primarily to educate and improve his reader while leading him to a better life, Hartlieb remains a skilful narrator and an expert translator.

47 I borrowed the majority of the examples from Drescher, "Johann Hartlieb," (*Euphorion* 26): 482–83, but there are many more in Hartlieb's text.

CHAPTER 11

Caesarius of Heisterbach in the New Spain (1570–1770)

Danièle Dehouve

Caesarius of Heisterbach's *exempla* enjoyed a new and unexpected life in the New World. Central Mexico was conquered by Hernán Cortés in 1521 and placed under the rule of the Spanish crown under the name of New Spain. In 1523, three Franciscan monks from Flanders came to Mexico, and the following year they were joined by the 'twelve' sent by Pope Adrian VI and Emperor Charles V. Twelve Dominicans arrived in 1526, followed by Augustinians in 1533. By the end of the sixteenth century, there were 380 Franciscan monks in 80 houses, 210 Dominicans in 40 houses and 212 Augustinians in 40 houses in Mexico.

Following Robert Ricard,[1] it is customary to call the 'first evangelisation' the efforts of conversion of the Pre-Tridentine period. The Franciscans distinguished themselves at this stage and produced the first dictionaries and a grammar of the nahuatl language, spoken by the descendants of the Aztec empire. They also wrote pious works in this language, such as catechisms, confession manuals and sermons.

The Council of Trent took place between 1545 and 1563 and its goal was twofold: on the one hand, it was to fight against the Protestant Reform and conquer souls, on the other, to convert the population of the newly discovered territories to Christianity. The Company of Jesus which more than any other Order incarnated the Post-Tridentine spirit arrived in Brazil in 1549. Several Jesuits were martyred in 1566 in Florida. The Company settled in Peru in 1569 and, finally, in Mexico in 1572. Its arrival in these countries coincided with the end of the 'first evangelisation' and the beginning of a new phase of Christianisation. The Jesuits settled in Mexico and they were dealing with Indians, Spaniards and people of mixed race in more than a dozen important cities.[2]

1 Robert Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle du Mexique": essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des Ordres Mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523–24 à 1572* (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1933).

2 On the history of the evangelisation, see Danièle Dehouve, *L'évangélisation des Aztèques ou le pécheur universel* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004), 59–66, and Dehouve, *Relatos de*

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Confession was at the heart of their method of conversion. Preaching was an essential tool in the process of preparing a penitent for confession, and preachers resorted to descriptions of infernal torments much more often than to promises of celestial bliss. This 'pedagogy of fear' led them to develop a rhetoric that relied heavily on imagery. The sermons were accompanied by *saynetes* (one-act plays) and other theatrical plays that were performed by students of the seminaries and Indians during religious holidays. These plays often had an exemplary quality; they showed sinners and demons and could end with a representation of hellfire.

Jesuit sermons in nahuatl language were held in very high esteem, especially those given by the fathers of the College of San Gregorio in Mexico City. This college became famous for its teaching to the Indians up until the expulsion of the Company of Jesus from New Spain in 1767. For instance, numerous manuscripts containing texts in nahuatl, now preserved in the National Library of Mexico (Mexico City), were produced there. This work reached its highest point with the publication of the catechism in nahuatl by the Jesuit Ignacio Paredes[3] in 1759 that was recommended to all the clergy in New Spain and had a very wide distribution.

One important aspect of the texts written by the Mexican Jesuits will interest us here: they contained a number of the short educational stories that we call *exempla*. It is important to remember that from the end of the sixteenth century onwards the Company of Jesus actively participated in the revival of the *exemplum* tradition.[4] This is the reason why some of Caesarius of Heisterbach's stories were translated into nahuatl and were granted a second life among the population however distant from the medieval monastic circles.

How Caesarius of Heisterbach Arrived in New Spain

Several of Caesarius's edifying tales were reused by Arnold of Liège in his *Alphabetum narrationum* (1297–1308) and by Johannes Gobi in his *Scala coeli*

pecados en la evangelización de los indios de México (Mexico, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2011), 65–72.

3 Ignacio Paredes, *Promptuario manual mexicano* (Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1759).

4 Dehouve, *L'évangélisation des Aztèques*, 49–50.

(1327–1330);[5] however, in the Renaissance period they were known chiefly via the S*peculum exemplorum*[6] which served as a link between the medieval and the modern *exemplum* traditions. It was first published in Deventer[7] in the Netherlands in 1481, and the edition contained 504 in-folio leaves and 1266 *exempla*, as well as an index in 164 columns. This anonymous work was edited by Richard Pafraet, from Cologne, and its distribution was probably facilitated by the fact that Deventer held five big annual fairs. The *Speculum* became known to later generations of readers thanks to its multiple editions. Apart from the first edition, three incunabula editions were published in Cologne and Strasbourg between 1485 and 1495. The work was then reprinted by Heinrich Gran in Haguenau in Alsace in 1507, 1512, 1515 and 1519. Copies of these last editions circulated widely in the sixteenth century and can be found in modern libraries, for example, in Mexico City.

The missionaries who preached in nahuatl were most certainly familiar with the stories from the *Speculum exemplorum* via a Spanish *book* written by Juan Basilio Sanctoro or Santoro. Sanctoro was born in Calahorra, trained as a lawyer and became Philip II's chronicler.[8] He was the author of several works, including the *Prado spiritual* which he claimed to have translated from Greek. In fact, it seems that Santoro used the title of a famous Greek text, the *Spiritual meadow* (*Pratum spirituale* in Latin translation) by John Moschus (c. 550–619), but the content of his *book* is completely different. In fact, a comparison between the Deventer edition of the *Speculum exemplorum* and Santoro's *Prado espiritual* leaves no doubt whatsoever: the latter is the Spanish translation of a Latin copy of the *Speculum*.

5 Arnoldus Leodiensis, *Alphabetum narrationum*, (ed.) Elisa Brilli, Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 160 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); *La Scala coeli de Jean Gobi* [*Ulm, 1481*], (ed.) Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: CNRS, 1991).

6 Anonymous, *Speculum exemplorum* (Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, 1481). About this text, see Reiner Alsheimer, "Speculum exemplorum," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, (eds.) Kurt Ranke and Rolf Wilhelm Brednich (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 2007) 12: cols. 961–68.

7 ISTC No.: is00651000, see *Incunabula Printed in Low Countries*, (eds.) Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1999), n° 2005.

8 Juan Basilio Santoro, *Prado espiritual. Quarto, quinto y sexto libro del Prado espiritual, recopilados de antiguos, clarissimos y santos doctores* (Burgos: Philippe de Iunta, 1592).

Speculum exemplorum **(1512 edition by Heinrich Gran)**	***Prado espiritual*** **de Sanctoro o Santoro (1592 edition)**
Distinctio I. Ex Dialogo Gregorii Papae (75). Ex Epistolari Petri Damiani (36 ou 39).	*Book IV*. Flores de San Greggorio papa, en sus diálogos (54). Flores de Pedro Damiano, en sus epistolas (34).
Distinctio II. Ex primo libro Vitas patrum quem beatus Hieronymus presbyter dicitur scripsisse (212). Ex Collationibus patrum (1). Ex Institutis sanctorum Patrum (13). Ex Climacho (14).	*Book V*. Flores de las historias eclesiasticas de (Eusebio, Nicephoro Calixto, Socrates), Theodorato, Sozomeno y Evagrio (29). Only the last three are from the Desert Fathers. Flores de San Joan Climaco (17).
Distinctio III. Ex gestis Anglorum (9). Ex libro de illustribus viris ordinis Cisterciensis (57).	*Book V*. Flores de las Hazañas espirituales de Cister (37).
Distinctio IV. Ex Speculo Historiali. Ex prima parte Speculi Historialis, Distinctio quarta (59). Ex scriptis Helinandi (5).	*Book* IV. Flores de Helinando, monge (2).
Distinctio V. Ex libro de propietatibus apum (136).	*Book V*. Flores de las Abejas (42).
Distinctio VI. **Ex libro exemplorum Cesarii (103).**	*Book V*. **Flores de Cessareo, monge de la orden Santa de Cister (30).**
Distinctio VII. Ex vita et actibus Sancti Francisci (41). Ex vitis fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum (9). Ex vitis fratrum ordinis Eremitarum (16). Ex vita sancti Hieronymi (10). Ex vita sancti Pachomii (12). Ex dialogo Severi de vita sancti Martini (8).	
Distinctio VIII. Ex vitis sanctorum (163).	*Book VI*. Vidas de santas y santos.
Distinctio IX. Speculum exemplorum ex diversorum auctorum scriptis collecta (218): **Abstinencia**. **Adulterium. Apostata. Avaricia. Beneficium. Castitas. Confessio**. Contritio. **Conversio. Chorizare**. Detractio. **Excomunicatio**. Gloria celi. **Gula. Humilitas. Jesus**. **Infirmitas**. Invidia. Judicium. **Justitia** (injustitia). Labor manuum. **Locutio**. **Misericordia in pauperes et infirmos**. Missa. **Mors**. Munera. Nicromantia.	*Book IV*. Prado de Enrique Gran, por el Abecedario (56): **Abstinencia**. **Adulterio. Apostasia. Avaricia. Beneficios y rentas eclesiasticas. Castidad. Confession**. **Conversion. Danza**. **Enfermedad**. **Excomunion**. Galardon. **Gula**. **Hablar**. **Humildad**. **Jesus**. Infierno. Juramento. **Justicia**. Lymosna. Maria. Invencion del Rosario. **Misericordia. Muerte. Malas compañías**. Murmuracion. **Oracion**. Ornato.

(cont.)

Speculum exemplorum (1512 edition by Heinrich Gran)	*Prado espiritual* de Sanctoro o Santoro (1592 edition)
Oratio. Patientia conjugum. **Parentes honorare.** Penitentia. Periurium. Prelatus. Pastor. Propetarius. **Purgatorium. Sacramentum.** Sanctorum festa. **Scriptura. Societas mala.** Superbia. **Tentatio.** Tyrannus. Timor. Verbum dei. **Usura.** Ydolum.	**Padres han de ser honrados**. Pasion del Señor. Predicador. **Purgatorio. Sacramento. Scriptura. Tentacion. Tirania. Usura**.
Distinctio x. Incipit decima et ultima distinctio speculi exemplorum in qua habentur exempla quae aut verissima relatione didici, aut in libris Teutonicis scripta inveni, vel ipse facta cognovi (30).	

The order of the *Speculum exemplorum* was slightly changed by Santoro who put in his *Libro quarto*:

Flores de San Greggorio papa, en sus diálogos (54 out of 75),
Flores de Pedro Damiano, en sus epistolas (34 out of 36 or 39),
Prado de Enrique Gran, por el Abecedario (56 out of 218),
Flores de Helinando, monge (2 out of 3).

And then in his *Libro quinto:*
Flores de las historias eclesiasticas de Eusebio, Nicephoro Calixto, Socrates, Theodorato, Sozomeno y Evagrio (29),
Flores de San Joan Climaco (17: 3 new exempla)
Flores de las Hazañas espirituales de Cister (37 out of 57),
Flores de Cessareo, monge de la orden Santa de Cister (30 sur 103),
Flores de las Abejas (42 sur 136).

Finally, in his *Libro sexto:*
Vidas de santas y santos: This last part called *Book* VI has nothing to do with the *Speculum* and contains lives of saints borrowed from other works.

To sum up, Santoro's text is a slightly less complex version of the *Speculum*: 21 rubrics are omitted (the rubrics of the *Abecedario* identical with the *Speculum exemplorum* are printed in bold in the table) but the work adds a number of rubrics (underlined), the sources of which need to be identified: Galardon, Infierno, Juramento, Lymosna, Maria, Invencion del Rosario, Murmuracion, Ornato, Pasion del Señor, Predicador. Where Caesarius of Heisterbach in particular is concerned, *Distinctio* VI of the *Speculum* contains 103 of his *exempla*, and *Book* V of Santoro's *Prado espiritual* has 30.

The principal vehicle of the *Speculum*'s transmission, however, was John Major's new edition (1603 and 1605) of the work published in Douai under the title of *Magnum speculum exemplorum*. The first editions of the text were faithful to the original, with a division into ten sections, or *distinctiones*. However, in 1607 John Major completely reworked the classification of the *exempla*, abandoning the *distinctiones* in favour of a division into 300 *loci communes* presented in alphabetical order, from *Abstinencia* to *Zodomia*. At the same time, he added many new *exempla*, increasing their number from 1,266 to 1,526 stories. From that point on, this version was re-edited more than a dozen times and was constantly enriched with new anecdotes and new entries up until 1747; it was also translated into vernacular languages.[9]

Whereas the clergy in general appreciated exemplary anecdotes, the European Jesuits gave them particular importance in their summaries of the Christian doctrine. These *book*s did not strictly speaking belong to the domain of preaching and were meant to be meditated upon rather than listened to. They were written by the great theologians such as Robert Bellarmine, Peter Canisius and Francis Coster at the end of the sixteenth century. Since the Company of Jesus operated in many countries, these works had a world-wide distribution and actively participated in the revival of the *exemplum* tradition in the modern period. Without a doubt, they provided essential sources to numerous monks who dedicated themselves to writing pious *book*s in vernacular languages in the seventeenth century, such as Alonso de Andrade, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg and Cristobal de la Vega who were famous in the Hispanic world, and there is no surprise that we find them in Mexico.[10]

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9 Among multiple editions, see for example Johannes Major, *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (Cologne: Wilhelm Friess, 1672). About Polish and Russian translations of the MSE, see Reiner Alsheimer, *Das Magnum Speculum Exemplorum als Ausgangspunkt populärer Erzähltraditionen: Studien zu seiner Wirkungsgeschichte in Polen und Russland* (Bern: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang, 1971).

10 For more information, see Dehouve, *L'évangélisation des Aztèques*, 47–50.

The library of the College of San Gregorio was knocked down when the Jesuits were expelled from the New Spain. The *book*s were dispersed and we find some of them in different collection of the National Library of Mexico. Among them is the *Speculum exemplorum* in Heinrich Gran's edition, Santoro's *Prado espiritual*, different editions of the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* and works by Andrade, Nieremberg and de la Vega.

Compilers of sermons in nahuatl had a habit of attributing an *exemplum* not to the author of one of these recent collections but to an ancient source, for example St Augustine or Gregory the Great. When Caesarius is mentioned, there is a marginal note reading "Cesareo." But he is not the only one who is cited as the source of an *exemplum*; Mexican Jesuits often prefer to cite other sources. Even though the stories of the "wild hunt" and the "miner buried alive"[11] belong to the Cistercian corpus, they are attributed by the Jesuits to Antoninus of Florence or Peter Damian. By contrast, Caesarius's name remains attached to the *exempla* condemning excessive drinking. He was considered to be the unique source of this type of stories to which the missionaries attached great importance, convinced as they were that this was the most common and dangerous vice among the Indians.

The Evolution of One of Caesarius's Tales

When a Latin story originally written by a Cistercian in the thirteenth century and reused by later medieval authors finds itself translated into nahuatl language in the seventeenth century for the use of the Indians by a Jesuit of New Spain, one may wonder what changes are introduced in order to operate such a 'graft.' The analysis of an exemplary tale on the fate of drunks in the other world will help find an answer to this question.

The plot of the *exemplum* that I shall call "Rüdinger the drunk" is rather straightforward. The knight Rüdinger gets drunk on religious holidays. He dies and appears to his daughter, a pitcher full of burning liquid in his hand. The story (n° 1 795 of Tubach's *Index*)[12] can be found first of all in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (XII, 41). Caesarius claimed to have heard the majority of the stories he put in his collection from his fellow monks and

11 Cf. *DM*, XII, 20 (for a story that shares some elements with the traditional plot of the "wild hunt") and *DM*, X, 52 (for the "miner buried alive" story).

12 Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Folklore Fellows Communications 204 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969).

clerics.[13] These events were supposed to have taken place in the eighty years preceding the composition of the *DM* (1219–1223), that is in the second half of the twelfth – the beginning of the thirteenth century. The story of Rüdinger who lived in "in Dioecesi Coloniensi, non procul a Colonia" ("in the Cologne diocese, not far from Cologne"), therefore, formed part of the oral tradition of local clerics.

From the *DM*, this story made its way (apparently without any intermediary) into the *Speculum exemplorum*[14] and from there into the *Magnum speculum exemplorum*[15] under the rubric *Dedicatio*. The name of the rubric – "Dedication" – refers to the consecration of a church or a chapel, later commemorated in a yearly festival. In fact, it is the holiday of the patron saint of a town, a village, a farmstead or a parish. It is, therefore, important to note that this *exemplum* does not feature in the rubrics *Gula* and *Ebrietas* where the stories of drunkenness are collected. It was adapted in nahuatl twice, in the collection of homilies found in ms. 1481, completed in 1731, and in the undated ms. 1493, probably from the first half of the eighteenth century. Both manuscripts are preserved in the National Library of Mexico.[16]

Four major aspects of Rüdinger's story evolve over the centuries of its transmission: the structure of the story, its moral, the mental image associated to it and its linguistic expression.[17] The comparison between Caesarius's text, copied word-for-word in the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* with the exclusion, however, of the dialogic structure (Appendix, Text 1), and its adaptation in nahuatl in the ms. 1481 (Appendix, Text 2) makes it possible to identify where exactly the transformations take place.

The Structure of the Story

The *exemplum*'s history spans over centuries and, in order to survive, the story needed to acquire signs of identification, that, for the most part, are contained in the succession of episodes. Rüdinger the drunk is identifiable through three successive episodes: Rüdinger gets drunk, dies and appears to his daughter

13 See Brian McGuire, "Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 167–247.

14 *Speculum exemplorum* (Strasburg: Heinrich Gran, 1487), VI, 97.

15 Johannes Major, *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, Dedicatio 4.

16 The story from ms. 1481 figures in the Appendix to this article (Text 2) and that from ms. 1493, fol. 365–67, is transcribed in Danièle Dehouve, *Rudingero el borracho y otros exempla medievales en el México virreinal* (Mexico City: Miguel Angel Porrúa, Universidad Iberoamericana, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2000), 131–35.

17 Dehouve, *L'évangélisation des Aztèques*, 23–7.

carrying a pitcher full of burning hot metal in his hand. These episodes, memorised in a set order, remained unchanged over time. Nevertheless, the second episode (Rüdinger's death) is slightly modified in the nahuatl texts. Whereas in the *DM* the drunk's death is natural, for the Mexican Jesuits it is the result of divine punishment: "The true God who is judge is angry for certain when his solicitude is not wholeheartedly received. He did not want to postpone the punishment of the great knight drunkard. (He sent him) an illness (that) made him suffer, made him burn, (thinking that) maybe the drunkard would wake up and learn the lesson. But he learned nothing from it, because drunks have a head hard as stone, [...] The drunk died" (Appendix, Text 2, §3 et 4). The slight change in the story occurs in accordance with the 'pedagogy of fear' that the Jesuits employed to prepare believers for confession in the post-Tridentine period. Furthermore, to be used for the edification of the Indians, the *exemplum* needed to acquire a more general character and be stripped of its original context. This is why Rüdinger's hometown of Cologne is not mentioned and Rüdinger, a "knight" in the original version, became a "soldier," the term that could easily be understood by the inhabitants of the New Spain.

The Moral

The story could have been used with a number of different purposes in mind. As Brother Diego de Valadés stressed, "a single example can adapt itself to all circumstances if we really want to analyse everything in detail."[18] The preachers had the freedom to draw a moral lesson from the *exempla* in accordance with the type of teaching given, which can explain some of the transformations that occurred as the story travelled from medieval Europe to Mexico. Why was Rüdinger's behaviour seen as reprehensible by Caesarius? To answer this question, we have to go back to the details of the medieval story. The protagonist of the *exemplum* is a *miles*, a knight and a member of the aristocracy who divided his time between military commitments and tournaments, on the one hand, and overseeing the work on the farms surrounding his castle, on the other.[19] It is in the latter part of his life that he gave himself to the vice which would cause his demise at the village feast of the *dedicatio*. In these feasts we can recognise the origin of the *ducasse*, still celebrated in Northern France.[20]

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18 Fray Diego Valadés, *Retórica cristiana* (Perugia: Pietro Giacomo Petrucci, 1579, repr. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 319.

19 Jacques Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 85 and 166.

20 Du Cange, Charles Du Fresne, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 7 vols (Paris: Firmin Didiot, 1840–1850), rubrics *villa*, *dedicatio*. Available online, URL http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/dedicatio and http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/villa. Accessed 9 January, 2015.

Very quickly, the Church became offended by the banquets that accompanied these religious festivals and perverted the sacred character of the celebrations. The expression 'faire la ducasse' (celebrate the *ducasse*) acquired the meaning of 'indulging in excessive eating and drinking.' The scandalous nature of Rüdinger's behaviour, therefore, was due not so much to his excessive drinking as such but to the context of his drinking. It was the intrusion of a secular pleasure in the domain of the sacred that was considered reprehensible.

The missionaries in the New World, on the other hand, did not read the story in the same way. For them, the Indians' principal vice was drunkenness and the preachers felt that they were not well equipped to fight against it because of the European Church's leniency in this respect. Sure enough, intoxication is part of gluttony, together with excessive eating. But is it really a mortal sin? In 1668, the Peruvian clergyman Peña Montenegro[21] argued that it was indeed but only when it was followed other sins such as murder, abortion and incest. By contrast, for the Augustinian Brother Manuel Pérez[22] who was in charge of the Indian parish of San Pablo in 1713, drunkenness always led to other sins. As a consequence, this vice was considered reprehensible not only when it collided with the sphere of the sacred but on every occasion. The taverns of Mexico City where the Indians consumed *pulque*, an alcoholic drink made with agave juice, became the new location for Rüdinger's story in its nahuatl version: "[he went to the religious feast] for the only reason that he could enter to all the taverns that served *pulque*, the places of drunkenness; and he did not care to prepare to obtain absolution for his sins. He knew nothing else but the pitcher of the *pulque*" (Appendix, Text 2, §2). Moreover, the Indians thought a person inebriated only if he drunk himself senseless. In nahuatl language there are terms to express just such a state, for example, *xocomiqui* – 'to die of a sour thing'. This is precisely the state in which Rüdinger often found himself as he was a "great drunkard who was always completely drunk" (Appendix, Text 2, §2).

In Caesarius's version, the main reason for Rüdinger's apparition to his daughter was to inform her that he was in the place of suffering, where his "hope of salvation was reduced or non-existent" (see Appendix, Text 1, § 3.). There is, however, a great difference between these two options: a non-existent hope indicated that the knight was in Hell, a reduced hope that he was atoning for the errors of his ways in Purgatory. As is well-known, the Cistercian was writing at the time when belief in Purgatory was spreading in the Christian world; there was still no well-defined 'third place,' which explains

21 Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parrochos de indios* (Madrid, Joseph Fernández de Buendía, 1668; Madrid: Pedro Marin, 1771).

22 Manuel Pérez, *Farol indiano y guia de curas de indio*s (Mexico City: Francisco de Rivera Calderón, 1713).

this ambiguity.[23] However, for the Mexican Jesuits, no more doubt remained: because of his drunkenness which they qualified as a mortal sin, the sinner ended up in Hell. The unfortunate father said: "It is not possible for me to be helped, to be saved, because Hell is a place of neither help nor salvation. [...] Hell's torment will never end, will never be lost, will never end // For eternity it will exist, for eternity it will make suffer" (Appendix, Text 2, §6 and §7). In the nahuatl text, Rüdinger appears to his daughter only in order to leave an edifying message to all drunks. As is often the case in Jesuit sermons in nahuatl, Hell replaces the medieval Purgatory every time if there is a question of punishment.

The Mental Image

A certain mental image which incarnates the story's identity is associated with each *exemplum*. In the case of Rüdinger, it is the appearance of the drunkard, his pitcher in hand, condemned to drinking a potion of melted metal for eternity. This mental image does not remain unchanged over the centuries and, together with the *exemplum* itself, undergoes an evolution.

In the Middle Ages, the sin and its punishment were included in a system of inversions where pain was substituted for pleasure.[24] Caesarius's *exemplum* opposed the pleasure of drink to the suffering that follows, two antinomic sensations represented by the contents of the vessel; after the sinner's death, the good wine is transformed into sulphur.

Out of a wealth of images communicating rich medieval symbolism, only a small number was retained in the nahuatl version. It preserved only very stereotypical imagery of Hell with its flames, its stench and its burns. If Rüdinger is always drinking liquid fire, it is because of these characteristics and not in response to a system of inversion: "He comes all burning, he comes all aflame, he comes in tongs of fire, and to his hand is attached his pitcher of *pulque* [...] The pitcher of *pulque* is the instrument that served me to get heavily inebriated and now by God's will it is my instrument of drinking, it is the instrument that serves me to drink a mixture that is very smelly, very repulsive and very burning; it is bitumen, powder of a firearm // that burns, and scorches //

23 Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981).

24 Medieval *artes moriendi* expressed the belief that every sinner will be punished by the members by which he sinned and offended God to teach them that we're punished by where we sin. See, for example, Anonymus, *Ars moriendi* (*1492*) *ou l'Art de bien mourir*, (ed.) Pierre Girard-Augry (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1986), 124–25. Caesarius expresses a similar idea in the *DM*, II, 7: "Deus secundum qualitatem et modum peccati ipsum punit peccatum" (God punishes a sin according to the quality and the means of the sin).

my mouth, my tongue, my throat, and my gut, and my suffering will have no end; it is what I deserve, this is the payback for my profound drunkenness" (Appendix, Text 2, §4 and §5).

Linguistic Expression

It is not surprising that the style of the author of the nahuatl version is very unlike Caesarius's. There are three main reasons for this difference. First of all, the Cistercian *exemplum* is expressed in a concise style because it is a written text. It is possible, however, that when it became an oral performance as it was integrated into an edifying sermon the *exemplum* underwent considerable changes. Secondly, the Jesuits were writing in the century when sermons were written in a refined baroque style. Oppositions, concessions, similes, dialogues, exclamations, interrogations, asides and citations were widely used.[25] These techniques were systematically employed in the composition of sermons in Spanish which, in this respect, were drastically different from the medieval sermons which were expected, at least in theory, to be free from rhetorical artifice. Moreover, the resources of the nahuatl vocabulary itself also contributed to the style of the Mexican version. According to a Jesuit from Michoacán, nahuatl had "palabras más eficaces para exortar y reñir particularmente; y más abundancia, sin comparación que tiene la española, ni aún el latín" (words more effective to exhort and especially to reprimand, and in greater number, without doubt, than Spanish and even Latin).[26] To express such new notions as sin, pain and Hell, the missionaries used an archaic style that imitated pre-Colombian ceremonial discourse.[27] In particular, the preachers resorted to "pairs" or series of synonyms characteristic of the pre-Colombian ceremonial language, especially appreciated by the Indian nobility that proudly used it in rituals and solemn speeches. These formulae are indicated in the Appendices by the use of the italics, for example: "*made him suffer, made him burn // when he was going to die, when he was going to perish // He comes all burning, he comes all aflame, he comes in tongues of fire*" (Appendix, Text 2, § 3 and 4).

Having discussed the reasons for the transformations Caesarius's story undergoes when it is adapted by the missionaries in the New Spain, I shall now turn to the process of selection that led the preachers as well as their congregations to manifest their preference for certain medieval stories.

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25 On this point, see Dehouve, *L'évangélisation des Aztèques*, 141ff.

26 Francisco Ramírez, *Relación sobre la residencia de Michoacán* (*Pátzcuaro*), in *Monumenta Mexicana*, (ed.) Félix Zubillaga vol. 2, 1581–85 (Rome: Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, 1959), 529.

27 Dehouve, *L'évangélisation des Aztèques*, 159ff.

The Making of a Successful Story

Certain *exempla* enjoyed more success in the New Spain than others, as is demonstrated by the history of many of Caesarius's anecdotes. Whereas the story of Rüdinger had only a limited circulation, another edifying story for drunks was much more popular.

The story of the 'drunk pilgrim' (*DM*, XII, 40) is about a drunk who goes to Hell, repents and returns to the land of the living. Caesarius places the event "tempore schismatis inter Ottonem et Philippum Reges Romanorum" (at the time of the schism between the kings of Rome, Otto and Philip), that is Otto IV, duke of Brunswick, and Philip, duke of Swabia; the dispute in question took place between 1197 and 1206. The anecdote contains five episodes: 1. The pilgrim exchanges his penitential habit for some strong wine and drinks himself unconscious. 2. His spirit is taken to the gate of Hell where he witnesses the arrival of the abbot of Corvey, from the diocese of Paderborn in Germany, and sees the Prince of Darkness throwing the abbot in the abyss of fire. 3. The pilgrim is noticed by the Devil. 4. The pilgrim turns to his angel and promises never to get drunk again if he is delivered from this peril. 5. Back to his country, he learns that the death of the Abbot of Corvey occurred when he had his vision of descending into Hell. We see that, as in the case of Rüdinger, the story is not castigating intoxication as such but its intrusion into the domain of the sacred. This intrusion manifests itself first of all in the fact that the pilgrim exchanges his penitential habit for wine and then in the condemnation of the abbot, "an excessively worldly man, who was more like a knight than a monk" (Appendix, Text 3, §4).

The story, mentioned in Tubach's *Index*[28] (n° 2249 and 3784), immediately proved a much greater success in Europe than the *exemplum* of Rüdinger. In the fourteenth century, the *exemplum* of the drunken pilgrim was used in Arnold of Liège's *Alphabetum narrationum* and Johannes Gobi's *Scala coeli*[29] and, in the fifteenth century, in Gottschalck Hollen's *Sermonum opus exquisitissimum* (published from 1481) and Johannes Herolt's *Sermones Discipuli* (published from 1480).[30] In the seventeenth century, it was integrated

28 Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 180 and 292.

29 Arnoldus Leodiensis, *Alphabetum narationum*, n° 290 (Ebrietas); Johannes Gobi the Younger, *Scala coeli*, n° 466 (Ebrietas 1).

30 Gottschalck Hollen, *Sermonum opus exquisitissimum* (Haguenau: J. Rymann, 1517), aest. 101; Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis, cum Promptuario exemplorum et Promptuario de miraculis b. Mariae Virginis* (Nürnberg: Aanton Koberger, 1480; Mainz: Bernard Gualter, 1612), Ebrietas 2.

into the *Magnum speculum exemplorum*,[31] in the rubric *Ebrietas*. In Mexico, a first version (ms. 1481, Appendix, Text 4) that presents itself as a faithful translation of Caesarius' story[32] was written before the *exemplum* was reused in Paredes's famous catechism,[33] which is a proof that the text enjoyed a certain reputation.

How can this reputation be explained? Most certainly by the mental image associated with this *exemplum*. Whereas the story of Rüdinger communicated the image of an active drunk who administers himself a drink of fire, the drunken pilgrim presents a figure of a passive sinner at the hands of devils who force him to swallow a stinking and burning drink (Fig. 11.1). The Europeans preferred this image because it presupposed the idea of Hell as the place of torture where the devils play the role of the executioners (Fig. 11. 2). Moreover, the representation of the Devil forcing the drunk to swallow the burning drink was used, after adaptation, as a metaphor for the suffering inflicted by the Indians of the New World on their prisoners. A Spanish conquistador, Pedro Arias de Ávila, nicknamed 'tigre del istmo' (tiger of the isthmus) because of his notorious cruelty, was also depicted swallowing molten gold administered by the Indians in Darién.

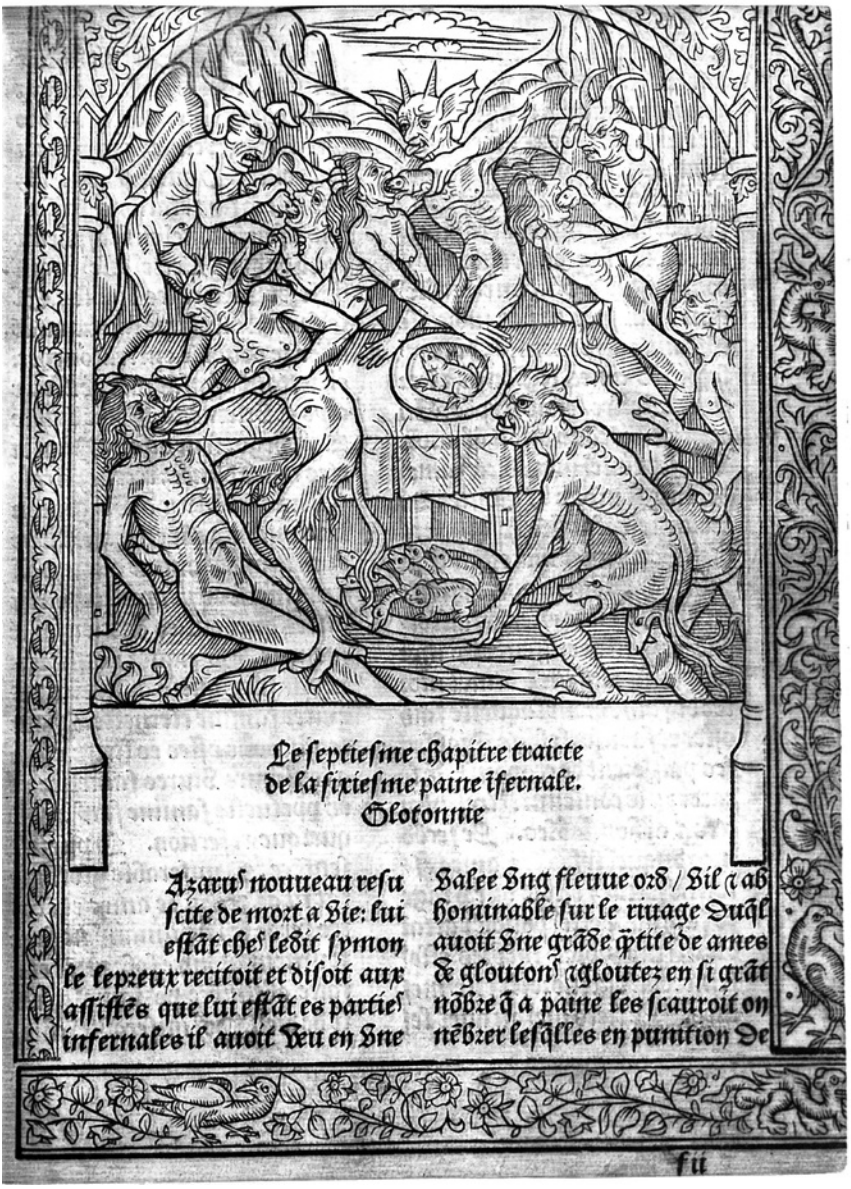
Even though he had merited this punishment, not because of love of drink but because of his taste for gold, it is easy to understand the meaning given to this image. Molten gold corresponds to the passion for gold in the classical system of inversion that substitutes pain for pleasure and requires that one be punished through the source of one's sin. The Indians take the place of the devils, and a real event (Pedro Arias de Ávila's execution) is seen through the prism of infernal imagery. The imagery of passive sinners became popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the post-Tridentine period, when the concept of the 'pedagogy of fear' was developed and many descriptions of Hell and its inhabitants were produced.

Another reason for the anecdote's popularity is to be found in its structure. Unlike Rüdinger, the drunken pilgrim is only a witness, during his alcohol-induced 'coma,' to what happens in Hell. This description must have been profoundly disturbing for the Indians who frequently drunk themselves to oblivion and heard this cautionary tale from the Jesuit fathers. Even so, a preacher of the College of San Gregorio (ms. 1475, Text 5, fig. 11.3 in the Appendix) wrote for the instruction of other Indians of this area the story of one of them who had the same experience as the drunk pilgrim and went on to tell it in confession:

31 Major, *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, Erbrietas 3.

32 The sermon in nahuatl mentions Caesarius (Cesareo) as a reference and not the *MSE* or any other potential intermediary source.

33 Paredes, *Promptuario manual mexicano*, 343.


Le septiesme chapitre traicte
de la sixiesme paine infernale.
Glotonnie
Lazarus nouueau resu
scite de mort a vie: lui
estāt chez ledit symon
le lepreux recitoit et disoit aux
assistēs que lui estāt es parties
infernales il auoit veu en vne
valee vng fleuue ord / vil (ab
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auoit vne grāde qntite de ames
de glouton (agloutez en si grāt
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fii

FIGURE 11.1 *The punishment of the* gula *in Hell, according to the* Ars moriendi ou l'Art de bien mourir, *published by Antoine Vérard* (*Paris, 1492*).
IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE.

FIGURE 11.2 *The torture of Pedro Arias de Ávila in Darién, according to Theodore de Bry:* Americae pars IV sive insignis et admiranda historia de reperta primum occidentali India a Christophoro Columbo (*Frankfurt, 1594*).
IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE DE LYON. RÉS 29621 (4), PLANCHE 20.

"My children, I want to tell you a certain very frightening miraculous example that did not take place in Castile nor in any other place in the world, but here at your own doorstep, and that did not happen to a Castilian but to one of you tributary Indians . . . [The Indian] went to San Gregorio to tell a helpful priest, he went to confess, he told what had happened to him . . .

Oh my children, this happened to one of you Indians who pay tribute, the father told this so that other drunks who lose themselves in the same way could draw a lesson from knowing it" (Apendix, Text 5, § 2, 8 and 9).

The story contains the following episodes: 1. The Indian is a great drunkard, he spends all his money on *pulque*, he ruins his family and beats his wife. 2. When he is about to go and get drunk, a young man invites him to follow him to a place of drunkenness. Together they climb a steep mountain and arrive at

a pond of liquid coals where the devils are bathing. They offer him a burning drink and look as if they are about to throw him in the pond. 3. The drunkard appeals to the Virgin. An angel tells him that the Virgin heard him and advises him to change his ways. 4. The angel brings him back home; the drunkard confesses to a Jesuit of San Gregorio. His wife confirms that he has changed his ways.

The structure of Caesarius's tale is easily recognisable in the story in nahuatl, but here we also observe a hybrid vision of Hell which is situated on the top of a steep mountain where, according to pre-Colombian beliefs, the god of mountains and rain dwells. In fact, this detail testifies to a certain degree of hybridisation of the imagery.

This tale's evolution, however, does not end there. Passing through a nahuatl village in the Guerrero state of Mexico in 1988, I collected an anecdote of the same type containing the following episodes:[34] 1) A young man likes drinking so much that he goes to live with the landlady of a tavern (a *cantina*). When he no longer has any cash left, he leaves to borrow some and comes back much later and asks for a beer from the lady who grew old when he was away. 2. The drunkard falls dead drunk on the table and his spirit is led away by Death. Together they climb a mountain. The drunk knocks and a door in the rock opens and he enters a bar. 4. He is in Hell but he is not bothered about it, all he wants is more drink. He asks for a beer, then another. Drunk and reckless, he demands snacks but the devils reply that there are none. Then he seizes a devil and devours him.

The first episode is constructed on the model of the story of San Gregorio. It describes excessive drunkenness that can no longer be compatible with life in society. The beginning of the second episode is equally conventional, only with Death replacing the guardian angel. The Indian then enters the mountain where Hell is situated. But, in this case, Hell appears in the form of a bar, where, far from being forced to swallow burning potions, he drinks beer for pleasure. Whereas in the edifying Jesuit story, the drunkard promises to mend his ways, in the modern tale, his obstinacy and his stupidity allow him to overcome the demons. Without even realising it, he devours a devil.

Without any doubt, this anecdote is a parody of the eighteenth-century Jesuit story and it has a strong anti-clerical message. In fact, we should bear in mind that anti-clericalism was very strong in Mexico throughout the nineteenth century and during the rule of some of the presidents of the early twentieth century.

34 This story is published in Dehouve, *Rudingero el borracho*, 150–5.

Conclusion

Between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, Caesarius of Heisterbach's stories circulated between different monastic orders, but in most cases they were appropriated by the Dominicans and then by the Jesuits. The Jesuits brought the *exempla* to the New World in the post-Tridentine period. In the course of the five centuries of their history, these tales went backwards and forwards between oral and written media, circulated in the form of rumours before being finally committed to paper, were communicated during sermons, relived by the faithful, told at confession, again noted down and used in preaching etc.

The stories survived through the centuries, but the effect of the passing of the time becomes apparent in the transformations that concern the structure of the anecdote, its moral message, the mental image associated with it and its linguistic expression. These *exempla* managed to adapt to the needs of conversion of the Indians in the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the process of selection, which was not guided by any authority, meant that some stories were forgotten, while others became very successful and remain in circulation until the present day. These preferences are not manifested in a conscious manner. They result from the social importance of the mental image associated with each *exemplum*, as well as from certain details of the structure of the anecdote. To be successful, a story needs to appeal to both the preachers and the Indians.

It becomes apparent that both the ability to believe that characterises believers and the ability to make believe (*faire croire*) which is the domain of missionaries rely on the same techniques. There is no doubt that the *exempla* were very efficient conversion tools. As stories, they circulated freely in towns and in the countryside of the colonial Mexico, in the same way as rumours, to which they were considered similar. The protagonists of these tales were individuals who went through unusual experiences. But these experiences could also be lived by other individuals, the Indians themselves. The abundance of images concentrated in these stories was meant to boggle the imagination. The mental image attached to every anecdote (for example that of an active or a passive drunkard), the imagery of Hell (with its burning potions and its devils-executioners), the system of inversion of pleasure and pain, associated emotions, all this contributed to the exceptional longevity of the Cistercian *exempla*. Finally, as is demonstrated by the existence of a contemporary burlesque imitation of Caesarius's *exemplum*, the 'refusal to believe' of the Mexican anti-clerical movements expressed itself in the form of a parody of the techniques heretofore used to express belief and to make others believe.

Appendix

Rüdinger the Drunkard

Text 1.

The story in Latin.

Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, XII, 41.

De poena Rudingeri et potu eius

1. In Dioecesi Coloniensi, non procul a Colonia, miles quidam erat nomine Rudingerus, sic totus deditus vino, ut diversarum villarum dedicationes tantum propter bona vina frequentaret. Hic cum infirmatus moriturus esset, filia eum rogavit, ut infra triginta dies sibi appareret. Quo respondente, "hoc faciam si potero," exspiravit.

2. Post mortem vero filiae per visum apparens, ait: "Ecce praesens sum sicut postulasti." Portabat enim vas parvum et fictile quod vulgo cruselinum vocatur in manu sua in quali in tabernis potare solebat.

3. Dicente filia, "pater quid est in vase illo?" respondit: "Potus meus ex pice et sulphure confectus. Semper ex illo bibo nec eum epotare valeo." Sicque disparuit. Et statim intellexit puella, tam ex praecedenti vita quam ex poena, modicam vel nullam esse spem salvationis eius.

4. Vinum quidem hic blande ingreditur, sed novissime mordebit ut coluber.

English translation:

Of the punishment of Rüdinger and his drink

1. In the diocese of Cologne, not far from Cologne, lived a knight by the name of Rüdinger, so fond of wine he was that he was a regular participant in the dedication feasts of different villages solely because of the good wines.

As he was ill and was on the point of dying, his daughter asked him to show himself within thirty days of his death. Answering: "I will do it if I can," he expired.

2. Appearing to his daughter in a vision, he said: "Here I am present as you have asked."

In fact, he was carrying in his hand a small earthenware vessel commonly known as *cruselinum* from which he had the habit of drinking in the taverns.

3. His daughter said to him: "Father, what is in this vessel?" He answered: "My drink made of bitumen and sulphur. I am endlessly drinking from it without being able to empty it."

Then he disappeared. And the young girl understood that, because of his past life and also of his punishment, his hope of salvation was reduced or non-existent.

4. It is true that wine enters nicely, but in the end it will bite like a serpent.[35]

Text 2. Story in nahuatl translated into English
Ms. 1481, fol. 230–233

1 – There was a soldier, a great captain called Rudingero, very valorous but most of all a great drunkard; he was always completely drunk. And while the others were at church where feasts are celebrated, he went with them.

But he did not go there in order to pray to the saint so that the Lord appears to him, nor did he go there to listen to God's word or *take a lesson, change his mode of life*,[36] the only reason was to spend the feast in drunken stupor.

2 – And once, in a certain church, a saint was celebrated, and there the believers were obtaining absolution of sins, like in many other places where it can be obtained.

The soldier went with the others, but not to obtain absolution – only the *good, the just* obtain it, those whose hearts do not know any sin and *follow, complete* the instructions that are given to them to merit it –

(he went there) for the only reason that he could enter all the *taverns that serve* pulque, *the places of drunkenness*;

and he did not care to prepare to obtain absolution of his sins. He knew nothing else but the pitcher of *pulque*.

3 – The true God who is judge is angry for certain when his solicitude is not wholeheartedly received. He did not want to postpone the punishment of the great knight drunkard. (He sent him) an illness (that) *made him suffer, made him burn*, (thinking that) maybe the drunkard *would wake up and learn the lesson*. But he learned nothing from it, because drunks have a head hard as stone.

4 – And *as he was going to die, as he was going to perish*, one of his daughters who was very pious asked her father the soldier that, once he is dead, he may show himself to her and reassure her heart (telling her) where he had arrived.

The drunk died and not thirty days after his death by the will of God he showed himself to his daughter.

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35 "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when I moveth itself aright. At last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder" (*Proverbs*, 23:31–32).

36 The passages in italics indicate the presence of a synonymous or metaphorical 'pair,' a device characteristic of the parallelistic style.

He comes all burning, he comes all aflame, he comes in tongues of fire and to his hand is attached his pitcher of *pulque.*

When his daughter saw him, *she got very scared, her hair stood on end from fear*, and, as he was talking to her, her heart died [she swooned], but later she took courage, she conjured him to tell her who he was, what he wanted and why his pitcher of *pulque* was attached to his hand.

5 – The unfortunate drunkard said in response: "I, the miserable one *who does not have an astrological sign*,[37] *who has no merits*, me, your father, God damned me because of my profound drunkenness.

And the pitcher of *pulque* is the instrument that served me to get heavily inebriated and now by God's will *it is my instrument of drinking, it is the instrument that serves me to drink* a mixture that is *very smelly, very repulsive and very burning*; it is *bitumen, powder of a firearm || that burns, and scorches // my mouth, my tongue, my throat, and my gut*, and my suffering will have no end; *it is what I deserve, this is the payback* for my profound drunkenness."

6 – Again the young girl *asked, said*: "My poor father, is not it possible to help you *with a mass, with a fast or by carrying a cross*? Maybe there is something that *I could do, which I can take care of*?"

And the unfortunate father said: "It is not possible *for me to be helped, to be saved*, because Hell *is a place of neither help nor salvation*; when one is there, one can neither pray to all the saints nor prostrate oneself in front of God.

And *on me was verified, with me was completely accomplished* the word of God our Lord, written in the Scriptures:

'Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' "[38]

7 – After having said that he emitted a frightening cry: "Such bitterness!" that is "Alas! *How it makes suffer, how it burns, how it pricks and how is it bitter*, Hell's torment."

For the second time, he cried: "Such multitude!" that is "Alas! There are many things *that one cannot taste, that one cannot encounter* in Hell's torment."

For the third time, he cried and said: "Such eternal suffering!" – "Alas! Hell's torment *will never end, will never be lost, will never end. // For eternity it will exist, for eternity it will make suffer*."

Then he disappeared in an instant, because the devils took him away down to Hell.

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37 'Not to have an astrological sign' is an expression of pre-Colombian origin.

38 Matthew 22, 13, often cited at the time, for example in the Anonymus, *Ars Moriendi* [*1492*], 127. See also Luke 13, 28, *Ars Moriendi* [*1492*], 128 and Matthew 25, 41, *Ars Moriendi* [*1492*], 93.

The Drunken Pilgrim

Text 3. Text in Latin

Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, XII, 40.

De poena Abbatis Corbeyae

1. Tempore schismatis inter Ottonem et Philippum Reges Romanorum, peregrinus quidam de transmarinis veniens partibus, sclaviniam suam pro vino quod in illis partibus fortissimum est exponens, in tantum bibit, ut inebriatus a mente sua alienaretur, sic ut mortuum cum aestimarent.

2. Eadem hora ductus est spiritus eius ad loca poenarum, ubi super puteum igneo operculo tectum residere conspexit ipsum principem tenebrarum.

Interim inter ceteras animas adductus est Abbas Corbeyae, quem ille multum salutans, cum calice igneo poculum sulphureum ei ministravit.

3. Qui cum bibisset, amoto operculo missus est in puteum. Peregrinus vero cum ante limina infernalia staret, et talia videndo tremeret, diabolus fortiter clamavit:

"Adducite etiam mihi dominum illum qui foris stat, qui vero vestem peregrinationis suae pro vino exponendo inebriatus est."

4. Quo audito peregrinus ad angelum Domini promisit quia nunquam inebriaretur, dummodo illa hora de imminenti periculo liberaret eum.

Qui mox ad se reversus, diem et horam notavit, rediensque in terram suam, eodem tempore praedictum Abbatem obisse cognovit.

Ego eundem Abbatem Coloniae vidi, eratque homo valde saecularis, magis se conformans militi quam monacho.

Novicius: Qui hic dediti sunt ebrietati, puto quod in inferno male potentur.

English translation

On the punishment of the abbot of Corvey

1. At the time of the schism between the kings of Rome, Otto and Philip, a certain pilgrim who came from across the seas offered his cloak in exchange for wine which is very strong in these regions; he drunk so much that drunkenness deprived him of reason and people thought he was dead.

2. At the same time, his spirit was taken to the place of punishment where, in a well covered with a lid of fire, he saw the Prince of Darkness himself.

In the meanwhile, among several souls was brought the abbot of Corvey, to him, with many greetings, he [the Devil] administered a drink of sulphur in a chalice of fire.

3. After he drunk, they took the lid way and threw him into the well. But as the pilgrim stood at the border of Hell and trembled contemplating these things, the devil exclaimed with force:

"Also bring me this man who is standing outside who got drunk last night after having exchanged his pilgrim's habit for wine."

4. When he heard this, the pilgrim promised the angel of the Lord that he would never get drunk again if he were swiftly delivered from this imminent peril.

He quickly came to his senses and made a note of the day and time and, when he returned to his country, he learned that at that moment the abbot about whom we have told had died.

I saw in Cologne a similar abbot, it was an excessively secular man, who was more like a knight than a monk.

The Novice: Those who dedicated themselves to drunkenness, I think that they will drink a bad drink in Hell.

Text 4. Story in nahuatl translated into English
Ms 1481, fol. 234–236

1 – Here is a sort of example: this is how certain Christians become travellers, with faith, *they go away, they go to pray*, to a place where there is either a sanctuary of a saint or a relic that is kept there.

And a man *dressed himself as a pilgrim, prepared to do penance* in order to go and pray somewhere.

And the devil, our common enemy, who always envies us every good deed that we do, tempted him (made him taste) so that *he got drunk, he got inebriated*, that he drank *his cover, his garment*,

2 – and when he fell down, naked, *he is not moving, he is not aware of anything, he is similar to //a stone and a stick*, everyone thinks that he is dead.

Then by God's will an Angel took his soul so that he can contemplate *Hell, the place of suffering.* And there he saw the prince of the devils seated on a throne of fire.

There numerous sinners were brought in his presence, sinners who *lived, died* in evil, *who did not do penance, who did not repent.*

He also saw a governor whose soul was brought by the devils, and he saw the prince of the devils who greatly rejoiced and greeted him with joy, he said:

"You have come, oh my dear, you followed my teaching well, and you knew only one thing, you made *your soil, your mud* [your body and your material life] rejoice, and now *you come tired, you come suffering*, you followed a long way, *all in fire, all burning. // Rest a little, catch your breath*."

And the devils made him drink *not water, not wine* nor any other kind of drink but *powder for the firearm, a mixture of fire* that made him suffer greatly;

and after having made him drink, *they threw him far away, they cast him far* down in the well of fire so that he may suffer there for all eternity.

3 – And after having seen that, the pilgrim immediately *got very scared, panicked greatly*, as the prince of the devils spoke again:

"Also bring in front of me the pilgrim standing there, who drank his garment of penitence."

The pilgrim appealed to *his angel, his guardian* who had brought him there to help him and to speak in his favour in front of God, and he promised to God *never to get drunk again, never to get inebriated again*, if he helped him now.

4 – The angel helped him by taking him away from there. And *he lived, he healed himself* [he woke up], he kept in his memory the moment when this wonder happened to him,

and when he arrived there, *in his house, in his village*, he learned that the moment of the death of the governor was the one when he saw what happened to him in Hell.

Text 5. Story in nahuatl translated into English
Ms 1475, fol. 75–78

An Indian saw the sufferings of Hell and from then on abandoned his drinking

1 – My children, I want to tell you a certain very frightening miraculous example that did not take place in Castile nor in any other place in the world, but here at your own doorstep, and that did not happen to a Castilian but to one of you tributary Indians.

He was scared thanks to the great compassion that our God made reach him, because he was indulging in profound drunkenness, *he was getting up and going to bed // in the hallucination of profound drunkenness*.

2 – Listen, my children, what happened to one of you Indians who pay tribute, a man living in Mexico City, who took care of provisions, a dignitary responsible for the food supplies.

He drank a lot, he spent everything on *wine, the pulque*, he gave nothing to his spouse, even though his children were dying of hunger and went naked, and he made them suffer in poverty every day (and) tormented his wife.

And when it was *the hour, the moment* for God to take him in his pity with his great compassion

3 – once, early in the morning, as he was getting up, he could not think of anything but his *pulque*, he got up asking himself where he was going to get drunk and where he would find money to get intoxicated.

As he was thinking about it and getting up, in front of him stood, he saw, a young man *who spoke to him, who told him*:

"Come, oh my brother, come with me, I am going to take you where you will accomplish *your will, your desire*, where *you will fill yourself to satisfaction, content yourself with drunkenness, you will swell // with pulque, with wine*."

4 – And when the young man had led him to a steep mountain, he ascended, he descended, he arrived to the place with a pond of liquid burning coals that was very obscure and very smelly, with very malodorous vapours,

the liquid coals sizzled, the tongues of fire went far as they took fire, suffocating like powder,

and he saw how in this pond of liquid fire were bathing Lucifer the lord of Hell and *the numerous, the innumerable* (beings) who worked there, *the dirty* (*beings*) *blackened by smoke, the dirty and disgusting* (*beings*), *the dirty and frightening* (*beings*),

5 – and one of them said : "Listen, you have come, this bathing pond of fire that you see is our home, the pond of turquoise, the king of turquoise" – because this is how Mexicans who were still venerating idols spoke –

And the one who spoke then filled a vessel from the abyss of liquid fire that sizzled and said: "Do you want to drink the drink that is the drink of *the drunks, of the inebriates*?"

Seeing the abyss of coals in the vessel of flames that sizzle, the drink that the dirty disgusting drunkards drink in Hell, he died of fear – he trembles, clatters with his teeth, so frightened he is,

He turned his head away in order not to see the infernal *pulque* that they were giving him that he wanted neither to see nor to take because its disgusting horror inflicted suffering.

6 – And when he came to standing up like a dead man at the end of a few days, he wanted to vomit; this is how he wanted to vomit as if he had inhaled burned smoke that had made him want to vomit,

and straightaway Lucifer told the devils who worked: "What do you have? Why are you stopping? How come you are not taking this man? How come you are not submerging him so that he drinks? There he will be satiated with fire!"

So the devils raised him in order to throw him in the pond of coals.

7 – And the moment when they were going to throw him, he cried with terror addressing Saint Mary, always a virgin, and said: "Lady, help me!"

And when the young man saw that the sinner was crying this way from terror and addressing Saint Mary, he said to him:

"Oh man of the Earth, obey the Lady Saint Mary, because if it weren't for her the devils would have abandoned you to suffer in the pond of fire, and, thanks to His compassionate Mother, God will still let you repent and take a resolution.

See how you will live, because the drunks who do not abandon *the hallucination* of their *pulque* are brought here and liquid fire will eternally be put in their mouths."

8 – And this young man who was speaking was his guardian angel. And he woke up, he was dead of fright, and even though he had not been simply asleep, he got up trembling of cold, feeling weak, clattering with his teeth,

then he decided not to forget – unlike you who forget your repentance – (and) went to San Gregorio to tell a helpful priest, he went to confess, he told what had happened to him, he cried with hot tears while he was confessing, *in order to change his life, to arrange his life.*

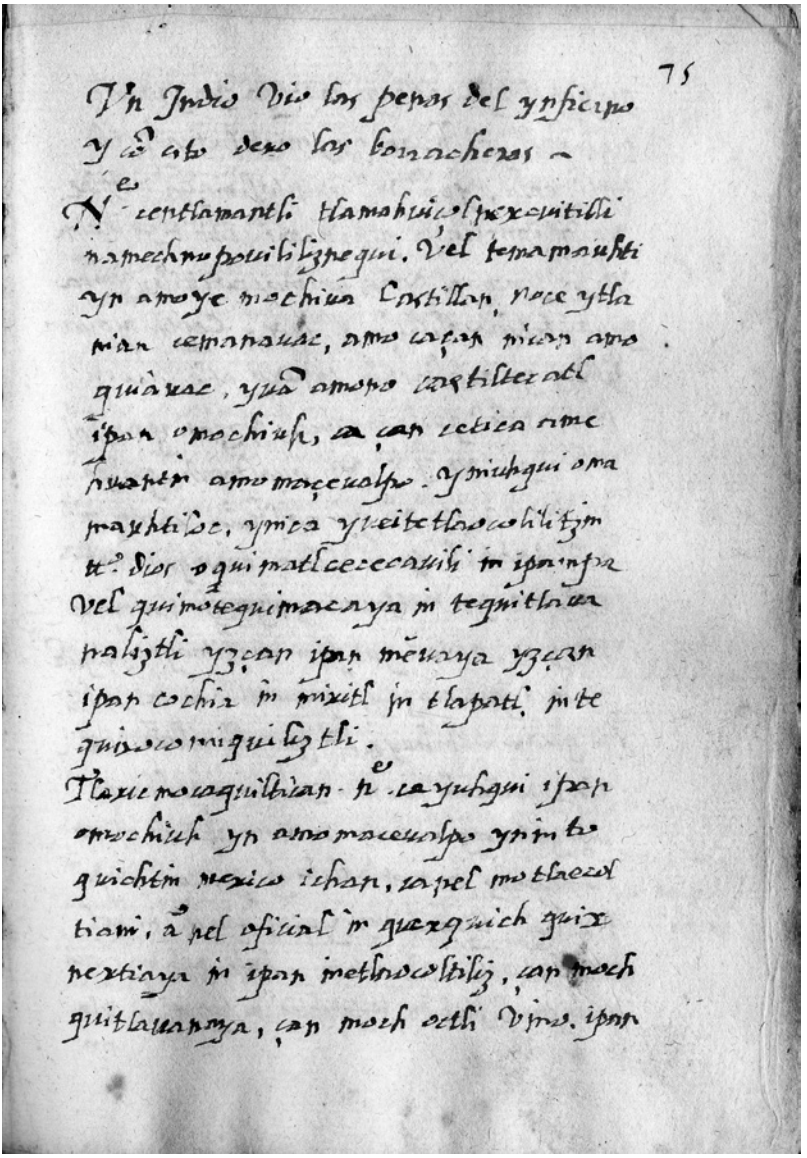

FIGURE 11.3 *The folio 75 recto of the ms. 1475 of the National library of Mexico, with a story of an Indian who saw the torments of Hell and abandoned his drunkenness.*

His spouse couldn't recognize him anymore, as if the old drunkard were no longer the same. The lady went to San Grigorio to speak to the father and told him: "Father, what happened to my husband, what did you tell him, because, oh dear father, I am really full of shame in his presence, so much has he changed his life, so much has he become a good man."

9 – Oh my children, this happened to one of you Indians who pay tribute, the father told this so that other drunks who lose themselves in the same way could draw a lesson from knowing it.

And now I speak to all those among you who lose themselves in this way, abandoning themselves to the *hallucination* of profound drunkenness.

Because you reject God, *you do not tell, you do not confess*, when Justice punishes you; you say that you got drunk, that you do not know what you have done;[39] and how much more difficult will it be for you to remember God when you are lost because of drink!

And you who *merit a punishment, a pain, // who will speak to you, who will wake you up?* You who made yourself unhappy by your own means, if you are condemned by a judgement given by my hand, will you repent in the same way that the drunkard repented on whom God took pity thanks to his dear Mother?

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39 The preacher is alluding to the fact that that there was no distinction between the civil punishment of drunkenness and the spiritual sanction of confession. Thus, in confession the Indian said that he did no longer have the memory of the trouble he had caused because he had been drunk, according to Pérez, *Farol indiano*.

PART 6

Roundtable: "Making Believe. Stories and Persuasion: Continuity, Reconfiguration and Disruption, Thirteenth–Twenty-first Centuries"

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CHAPTER 12

From Caesarius to Jông Myông-Sôk: A South Korean *Exemplum* of a Messiah

Nathalie Luca

Twenty years ago, I defended my PhD thesis in Anthropology at Nanterre University. The thesis was dedicated to South Korean Pentecostal and messianic movements.[1] My field of research has been considerably extended since and I have worked on a number of different projects, but it is to this particular study that I would like to return in these closing remarks since some of the material used in my thesis resonates powerfully with the discussions that are presented in this collection. I have to admit that my knowledge of Caesarius of Heisterbach is very limited; I do, however, appreciate the interesting point of comparison that the art of Cistercian persuasion represents for researchers in different fields of study. I would therefore like to thank Jacques Berlioz, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu and Victoria Smirnova for offering me the opportunity to contribute to this project. Thanks to our discussions, I became aware of the existence of South Korean *exempla* and the possibility of considering the *exemplum* as an object of research that can generate interdisciplinarity based not on the juxtaposition of approaches of colleagues from different disciplines, but on a drive to knit together these disciplines' methodologies. The definitions of the *exemplum* as well as the medieval examples of this type of text provided me with an unexpected theoretical framework with which to return to the messianic stories that I studied for my thesis and examine them in a new and different light.

The papers presented at the conference posed a number of research questions that I keep coming back to from different angles. Even though the material studied may be very diverse, a collaborative reflection on these questions is still possible. What are the features that explain why stories that seem very strange and even bizarre to us now are not perceived as such elsewhere or in another historical period? What motivates their transmission? Why does this transmission stop? For what reason is a story chosen and later rejected in favour of another one? In what way does the art of telling stories to make believe

1 Nathalie Luca, "L'Église de la Providence. Un mouvement messianique coréen à visées internationales," (PhD diss., Université de Paris x Nanterre, 1994).

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evolve depending on the context? In my research, I compare, in a synchronic perspective, the reception of beliefs and ways of believing in several locations (from South Korea to Haiti passing through France). Other authors in the present volume address, in the diachronic perspective, the reception and dissemination of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *DM* in order to gauge the existence of a specifically Cistercian rhetoric or, at the very least, of a Cistercian pragmatics. This distinction between the Cistercian rhetorical structure and its pragmatics is an extremely stimulating and heuristically productive one. It helps detect, in the way in which the moment of believing occurs and is transmitted, the difference between those elements of a story that change and those repeated elsewhere and in other periods, for example for the purposes of conversion to Catholicism outside Europe. The structure of the story can be partially preserved, while certain beliefs are not, or no longer are, transmitted. Some parts of the story are left out or transformed, others are added. Depending on the context of the belief, the content of the belief is transformed. But what about the attitude of belief?[2] *Exempla* are trying to make their audiences receptive to belief and thus to inculcate an attitude of belief. Depending on the context, is the content changed in order to achieve the 'correct' attitude or does the impossibility of adopting the attitude motivate a change in the content? The comparison of the capacity for integration of a new modality of belief and action in fields with multiple political, economic, social and religious variables allowed me to observe different levels of interaction between the content and attitude of belief as well as the necessary elasticity of the content that serves to avoid the hardening of the attitude. How can a historian establish the link between the contents of a story and the attitude of belief?

In the course of the conference, and especially in Victoria Smirnova's contribution, the question of the Novice's reaction was discussed, and this helps us gain an understanding of his attitude of belief. Too few studies have so far been dedicated to this question and this is a very regrettable omission. How

2 On this subject, see the publications of Roberte Hamayon, who is an anthropologist specializing in Siberian shamanism and is particularly interested in the distinction between the object and the attitude of belief that makes it possible to bring to the fore every dynamic aspect of belief. See, for example: Roberte N. Hamayon, "L'anthropologue et la dualité paradoxale du 'croire' occidental," *Théologiques* 13, no. 1 (2005): 15–41. In the same line of analysis, I attempted to define a dynamic system of belief and distinguished between three interdependent levels: context, contents and attitude. See Nathalie Luca, "Multi-Level Marketing: At the Crossroads of Economy and Religion," *Research in Economic Anthropology* 31 (2011): 219–41.

do novices react? What is their margin of manoeuvre? To what extent do new beliefs invalidate contents that used to be relevant? How does a change in context operate a change in the attitude of belief? When answering these questions, anthropologists have an advantage because, rather than focusing on what seems to be the central scene (the narrator and his discourse) they can instead study the reactions of the believers, of the audience. Pragmatic anthropology in particular invites us to observe at close range how they react, act, doubt their convictions and eventually transform certain aspects of their existence, but possibly not others.[3] The capacity of Caesarius's *DM* to rely on the context of belief that was pre-existing its reception allowed for a better anthropological understanding of the Cistercian *milieu* and of the society in which this work was disseminated. Danièle Dehouve explained the role of the *exempla* in the conversion of the Indians of the New Spain and demonstrated that the share of Caesarius's stories in circulation continued to shrink and be replaced by new *exempla*, better suited to the context of reception.

Let us now turn to the South Korean material. Catholicism came to Korea in the eighteenth century and its advancement was accompanied by the dissemination of the texts that Korean diplomatic missions were bringing from China. I am not aware if Caesarius's works were among these books but it is undeniable that some exemplary material reached the peninsula. *Exempla* were used by messianic movements that flourished in the region after the Korean War (1950–1953) and until the end of the last century. The story that I have chosen for this short contribution was produced by one of these movements known as the Church of the Providence, which began its activity in the 1980s, at the time when the process of urbanisation of the Korean society was already quite advanced. Its founder and presumed messiah was Jông Myông-Sôk who made his followers call him JMS (Jesus Morning Star). This movement has since been disbanded.[4] Here is the text of the *exemplum*, without any additional contextualisation:

3 For further reading on this topic, see *Croire en actes. Distance, intensité ou excès?* (eds.) Emma Aubin-Boltanski, Anne-Sophie Lamine and Nathalie Luca, Religions en questions (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014).

4 The part of my thesis dedicated to this movement was published as: Nathalie Luca, *Le salut par le foot. Une ethnologue chez un messie coréen* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1997). For more information about the beliefs of this messianic community, see also Nathalie Luca, "L'entre-deux temps du croire," in *Croyance et persuasion*, (eds.) Nathalie Luca and Jean-Philippe Bouilloud, special issue, *Nouvelle revue de psychosociologie* 16 (Nov. 2013): 17–35.

In 1972, the Master[5] was still very poor. He was growing ginseng on the land that did not belong to him and then he went to sell it in Seoul. One day, a very rich man made him a promise of sale for the sum of around 400,000 wôn, which would now have been the equivalent of four million wôn, for his entire crop. The Master was mad with joy. He thought that it was a reward for his faith in God. So he grew his entire crop for this man.

It was difficult work that was worth this money but he had never received such a sum in one go before. He delivered his ginseng to the person in question who gave him a notice of receipt and sent him to a tavern to get his money.

There he was greeted by drunken men. They tore his receipt up, mocked him and beat him up. He was so shocked that such a thing could happen to him that he was unable to react in any way and did not even defend himself. Until that point, he had been convinced that his faith in God would protect him from any misfortune. He was very naïve and did not understand what had happened to him. When they left him, he felt like dying. He cried for hours imploring God. He did not turn against God even though such a thing had happened to him, which does not happen very often in such circumstances. Because he really felt that God was his father whom he had always trusted with everything and his own parents could not understand him. He complained to his celestial Father of the misfortunes that had been inflicted on him.

And then he tried to reflect: if, despite his faith, such a thing could happen to him, it is because God did not intervene in matters of work; this is because one should separate faith from work. The following Sunday he went to church. He looked for a church where nobody knew him in order to avoid being mocked yet again. And the topic of the sermon was "predestination"!

"Everything is predestined by God!" the pastor was saying.

The Master felt even sadder when he heard that there was no difference between matters of work and faith where God was concerned. So he cried more, without stopping to ask why God had done this to him. He walked in the mountains for a long time and came across an abandoned house where he stopped for a rest, exhausted. He started howling and crying because the world was too harsh.

5 In Korean, the same word is used for 'master' and 'teacher,' which immediately introduces a confusion in these stories that serves a purpose in the process of reception. A non-initiated person is not able to know in what sense to understand this term, but, immersing himself or herself in the *exemplum*, the reader will little by little discover the real meaning of the word.

> "If everything is predestined, why did you do this to me? How can you decide to hurt people?"
>
> For more than three hours he cried, inconsolable; then he got into a trance. A very beautiful woman appeared to him. Since she looked absolutely real, he wondered what was happening to him. The only ugly thing about her were her hands. Then he heard a voice that was telling him:
>
> "Do you refuse to love this woman because of her hands? Should her hands be cut off or will you accept her this way?"
>
> Then in this woman he saw the entire world: in the same way as the Master could love this woman despite her ugly hands, God agreed to love the world despite and with all its flaws. He could not abandon vile men and only keep the good ones. The Master then understood that God had not predestined the evil but he could not separate those who practice it from the others."[6]

It appears to me that this story has the structure of an *exemplum*. It is a tale I used in my doctoral thesis, and there are many more stories of the same type. It is with such stories that the pastors and the initiated tried to convince the neophytes of the messianic nature of the founder of the movement. It is also in this manner that the Master often expressed himself. One may say that in some sense *exempla* are at the heart of the messianic preaching. To come back to the ideas evoked in the Introduction to the present collection, here we have a story full of twists and turns and provoking emotions that imprint the tale in the audience's memory. We also have an exemplary model that is not Jesus himself but the messiah who came to today's Seoul. In this story we can observe the three pillars of rhetoric – *logos, pathos* and *ethos* – at work. The *logos* is the explanation provided at the very end whereas the story as a whole relies on a declared incomprehension of the injustice and, as a consequence, on the doubt in the divine protection, doubt efficiently chased away by a simple, enlightening and unforgettable metaphor. The *pathos* is the mobilisation of the passions (there is crying, there is mocking laughter, howling) and of the values (why does a good person find himself in a difficult situation?) The *ethos* is expressed in the speaker's authority and the audience's attitude characteristic of exemplary stories.

As is pointed out in the Introduction to the present volume and as we have heard many times during the conference, the *DM* provides a wealth of information about all aspects of life and all social classes of the medieval society. One of the key characteristics of this life is the emerging opposition between

6 Luca, *Le salut par le foot*, 83–4.

the city and the country, which is very important from an anthropological and historical point of view. It is interesting that the "Master" receives the answer to his questions in a remote location, in a completely abandoned house. At the time when the story takes place, the city was perceived as extremely dangerous. It happened too often that young girls who had only just arrived from the provinces were kidnapped and forced to become prostitutes. In fact, churches were sometimes seen as safe places for those coming from the country to look for work. The beginnings of South Korean urbanisation were extremely rapid and violent, and this is the context in which this *exemplum* is set.

This tale spoke directly to those Koreans who heard it and, as a consequence, encouraged them to relate to the protagonist's experience. As in the case of medieval *exempla*, the audience believes the story to be true because the context in which it takes place is described with such precision that it becomes true. It is because the context is plausible that neophytes make these stories their own. In fact, in the transmission of stories the context seems to be even more important than the structure which can be sacrificed if need be. A story is trustworthy if it describes a situation that could be experienced or witnessed by almost any member of the audience. This identification with the context prompts an identification with the story and, finally, with faith.

Exemplary stories have a particular relationship with time as the same story can be repeated in a different historical period. This is why it is important to inscribe the story in the "lineage of faith" (*une lignée croyante*) as defined by Danièle Hervieu-Léger:

> It is not the continuity itself that is of value here, but the fact that this continuity acts as a visible expression of the filiation that the individual or collective believer expressly claims and that integrates him or her into a spiritual community assembling past, present, and future believers. A break in the continuity can even be, in certain cases, a way of saving this fundamental link with the lineage of belief which fulfils the role of a legitimizing imaginary reference point.[7]

7 "Ce n'est pas la continuité qui vaut en elle-même, mais le fait qu'elle est l'expression visible d'une filiation que le croyant individuel ou collectif revendique expressément et qui le fait membre d'une communauté spirituelle qui rassemble les croyants passés, présents et futurs. La rupture de la continuité peut même être, dans certains cas, une manière de sauver ce lien fondamental avec la lignée croyante. Celle-ci fonctionne comme référence imaginaire, légitimatrice de la croyance": Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *La religion pour mémoire* (Paris: Ed. du Cerf, 1993), 118. English translation: Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, trans. Simon Lee (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 256.

This lineage of belief is here constructed by accumulating similar stories in time. The events that are being told are not experienced exclusively by the protagonist of the last story but have been happening before to other central figures of the community of believers over a long period of time. Thus, for example, a parallel is often drawn between the misfortunes of this Korean messiah and Jesus's suffering. These experiences become independent of the specifics of the context and, as such, they signal the messianic function of the protagonist. It will, therefore, be particularly interesting to study those elements of the story that can be repeated independently of the context.

These stories lend themselves almost too easily to being believed. When I read my *exemplum* during the conference, the audience laughed because the situation seemed so grotesque. Nevertheless, here we have an example of very fine rhetoric. The story persuades the audience to believe with a subtle play on the idea of the 'known' that makes it possible to accept the 'believed,' to paraphrase Jean Pouillon:

> Is not belief to knowledge what raw is to cooked? What we believe, it is what, without any proof, we admit straightaway; in sum, what we swallow raw. Knowledge, by contrast, needs to be prepared, elaborated, indeed, cooked. In any case, we shouldn't trust this metaphor any more than any other. The cooked is the raw . . . when it's cooked, but a sophisticated belief, a belief that has, in a way, been cooked, does not automatically become knowledge.[8]

We should also note that our messiah, not unlike Caesarius, does not hesitate to offer himself as an example, but he does so in a way that ridicules him. The story not only exposes his naivety, it immediately makes us understand that it is not the first time that he finds himself in such a demeaning situation when everybody thinks him an idiot; this is, no doubt, why he changed churches on a regular basis! It is precisely because he recognises himself as ridiculous that he can gain characteristics of a martyr, and parallels can be drawn with Jesus himself; it is this assumed foolishness that makes him credible, that makes him experience in his flesh the peasants' suffering, the believers' suffering, the

8 "La croyance ne serait-elle pas au savoir ce qu'est au cuit la crudité? Ce qu'on croit, c'est ce que, sans preuve, on admet d'emblée; en somme, ce que l'on gobe tout cru. Le savoir, en revanche, se prépare, s'élabore, bref, se cuisine. Toutefois, pas plus que toute autre métaphore, il ne faut trop filer celle-ci. Le cuit, c'est du cru. . . cuit, mais une croyance sophistiquée, en quelque sorte cuisinée, ne devient pas automatiquement un savoir": Jean Pouillon, *Le cru et le su* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 17.

world's suffering. Paradoxically, it is from this laughter that the possibility of believing in him is born.

In her concluding remarks at the end of the conference, Nicole Bériou asked to what extent *exempla* can be said to possess a general character and be applicable to any context, to any historical period anywhere. Danièle Dehouve also touched on this problem in her article and pointed out that the characters of a story can be stripped of their names, become anonymous. At the same time, other authors in this book stress the descriptions and motivations of the characters which make it easier for the audience to imagine them. The messianic tales respond to the same criteria that those studied by Paul Veyne:[9] the effort of persuasion involves an extremely detailed description of scenes that can create images in the audience's imagination. Thus we have fantastical descriptions of the 'world of the evil' and the 'world of the good,' broken down into different levels, more and more infernal or more and more luminous and attractive. The characters encountered in these worlds are named and meticulously described, so that an *imago* is immediately formed in the audience's mind and this mental image, in turn, plays a key role in conversion. There exists a tension between, on the one hand, a maximal personalisation where each character plays a specific role (the devil, the Virgin, the Holy Spirit, Jesus . . .) and, on the other, characters with whom everyone can identify since they should serve as examples; the characters from this latter group are usually anonymous.

When Hell is described in messianic stories there are mentions of mouths and ears that move around unattached to a body, the former being identified with the souls of the dead who did not keep their word, the latter with the souls of those who abused trust. Any believer is thus invited to identify with these souls and to question his or her actions. These souls do not have names, only a justification. They are effective, in this story, because they are anonymous. This tension seems to be heuristically very productive for the analysis of the effect these tales have on the attitudes of belief.

I was also inspired by Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk's paper dedicated to the *ars dictandi* which mentions the *florilegia* of set phrases that can be reused when needed. This technique has not lost its importance to the present day. Not only have I encountered it among the adepts of the Church of Providence who were expected to learn by heart a whole corpus of citations and use them to indoctrinate the newly converted, but I have also observed this phenomenon in a completely different field study that I have recently conducted among salespeople. I had an opportunity to visit several of them in their homes and

9 Paul Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes*? (Paris: Seuil, 1983).

every time, in the bathrooms or on the fridge, I encountered citations that they were expected to memorise and that could also be heard in motivational conferences that they attended.

Another aspect of religious persuasion through the use of *exempla* that appeared very important and familiar to me is its relationship with music and also with prosody – the music of words and the use of stress (Marie Formarier and Victoria Smirnova). When I first heard JMS, I found his speech absolutely incomprehensible, and I even seriously considered abandoning work on his church. He spoke with an accent from the South of the peninsula, so thick that even native Koreans themselves needed some time to adjust and to begin to understand him. The messiah's accent can and should be analysed in terms of signature; it allowed the adepts to interpret his words in different ways and then, which is even more important, his speech became unique because he was the only one to speak in this manner. One needed to make an effort to understand JMS in the same way as one needed to make an effort to believe in him, and, in the final analysis, understanding him would amount to recognising his messianic nature. This 'messianic prosody' played a key role in the process of believing which explains why Jông Myông-Sôk never tried to get rid of his accent; the effort required to understand the messiah's speech was considered part of the work of initiation.

It is possible to identify three types of images in this Korean *exemplum*. We encounter *perceived images* (corporeal vision) at the very beginning, when we hear that the Master was growing ginseng. Everyone knows what ginseng is and can imagine its root. It is not just any old type of crop; ginseng is Korea's signature. Since the messiah was South Korean, South Korea becomes the chosen land and ginseng is one of the major cultural symbols of this country. There is no need to go to Korea to learn about the properties of this root and to be able to visualise it. It is therefore not by accident that JMS was growing it. The tavern (image of depravity) is another example of a perceived image. When we talk about *memorised images* in this *exemplum*, we refer to all the violence that unfortunately accompanied, in South Korea as elsewhere, the accelerated phase of urbanisation, the violence that is still present in the living memory of the Korean city dwellers. Finally, the words pronounced at the very end by the woman with ugly hands (*image of reconciliation*) represents spiritual vision *par excellence*.

These comparative remarks are by necessity too brief and too imperfect. Their sole purpose is to provide a different context to test the analytical methods used by the contributors to this volume in order to attempt to draw unexpected parallels between their research and mine, since we all share an interest in the concept of persuasion.

CHAPTER 13

Readings/Lessons of the *Exemplum*

Pierre-Antoine Fabre

As a form of thank you to the organisers for inviting me to take part in this conference, in my brief contribution to this volume I would like to point out three aspects that seemed to me particularly interesting and new in Nathalie Luca's contribution and the parallels that she drew with the different papers presented.

The first concerns the relationship between the *ridiculous* man and the *suffering* man. On the one hand, this throws a most important light on the relationship between the *exemplum* as entertainment, as ultimately a minor form, and the manner in which this minor form acquires weight as it is integrated in a theoretically charged discourse. Ridicule and its transition into the sphere of suffering become a sort of metaphor of this double role. It is also possible to inscribe the *exemplum* in a larger tradition of the depiction of a socially disadvantaged person, a misfit: a man who is not adapted to his environment is a ridiculous man. But even if it is perceived as an immanent defect, like a false note, ridicule can also signal what is not of this world and can at this moment *require* a different reading, a spiritual one. This is how the *ridiculous* becomes *exemplary*.

The second aspect is the tension that is constantly maintained between the extreme particularity of the micro-story of the *exemplum* and the fact that this extreme particularity can be transformed into the possibility of generality and can have the power of persuasion. The two are in fact closely linked: the *exemplum* is so particular that it *could only* be transmitted (its memory could not be preserved in the different stages that serve as milestones of its narrativisation) because it was the bearer of some general meaning. This conversion of the specific into the general, accompanied by anonymisation, like a pebble polished by water losing the particular shape of its edges, is operated precisely in the process of transmission of a story.

The third aspect concerns what Nathalie Luca called the signature of the accent, or of prosody, and will also echo Elisa Brilli's remark on the frequency of the citations of words. Every citation is a mark of authority, of control. And this happens not only when the *exemplum* finds itself at the heart of an oral performance, which was often the case in preaching, but even in reading, during the event of speech of which the reader is the only witness.

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Danièle Dehouve's paper made an important contribution to the discussion by circling the point where these three dimensions meet, and the significance of her contribution is not limited to the fact, however historiographically important, of attaching a modern 'field' of the New Spain to a complex of medieval and European works. In the writings of a preacher from the College of San Gregorio, the Indian relives, as a sleepwalker or a hypnotised person would, an *exemplum* of the past (which is the story of a man who is a drunkard and, most probably, is a source of ridicule – unstable, staggering, out of place). In this precise context, the relationship of transmission and of persuasion in and by the fact of transmission takes on a particular shape: the revisited *exemplum* signals that the past, the present and the future are in fact linked by the story that is repeated irrespective of the time period. Looking into the future of the New World we find parallels with the Old World, the same events precede themselves and follow themselves at the same time. This dialectic of the *before* and *after* finds a particular resonance in the exemplary discourse: these are not only past statements (*before*) but also statements in the present, *in prae-sentia, in front*, imminent.

These are my conclusions based on my reflections on the topics of the conference, from the Cistercian collection to Nathalie Luca's Korean story, with a detour to New Spain.

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